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SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

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Join the Party for the Public Interest and Not To Seek Any Private Gain

- Read "The Workers' State and Party Week"

by

Ch'i Yung-hung (齐永红)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

In March 1919, not long after the victory of the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party--led by Lenin--held its 8th Congress. In pursuance of the decision of this Congress to increase the membership of the Party by enlisting workers and the working and peasant youth, Party Week was organized in Petrograd, Moscow and other provinces and towns. "The Workers' State and Party Week," an article Lenin wrote to mark the occasion of this Party membership drive, incisively elucidated the brilliant idea of joining the Party for the public interest. It is of vital significance as a guide to the strengthening of Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out: "We do not need Party Week for show purposes. We do not need fictitious Party members even as a gift. Our Party, the Party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not in increasing its membership but in improving its quality, and in purging itself of 'self-seekers.' We have more than once carried out re-registration of Party members in order to get rid of these 'self-seekers' and to leave in the Party only politically enlightened elements who are sincerely devoted to Communism. We have further taken advantage of the mobilizations for the front and of the subbotniks to purge the Party of those who are only 'out for' the benefits accruing to membership of a government party and do not want to bear the burden of self-sacrificing work on behalf of Communism." Here, one sees that following the seizure of political power by the proletariat, Lenin regarded valiant defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and actively carrying on self-sacrificing work in the revolutionary way as the primary condition for developing and observing Party members.

Why did Lenin bring up this question so sharply then? This was because, following the victory of the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party had turned from a secret underground party into an open government party and under these circumstances some persons who neither knew what Communism was nor were prepared to devote themselves to it were eager to obtain a Party card because they thought they could "seek" the benefits accruing to membership of a government party. That was why Lenin, in his article "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," pointed out: "It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when revolution has already broken out and is at its height, when everybody is joining the revolution just because they are carried away, because it is the fashion, and sometimes even out of careerist motives. After its victory, the proletariat

has to make most strenuous efforts, to suffer the pains of martyrdom, one might say, to 'liberate' itself from such pseudo revolutionaries." For this reason, the Communist Party, on becoming a ruling party, must especially guard itself against those who try by all possible means to sneak into the Party because they are "out for" the benefits. For instance, some people regard joining the Party as a "ladder," thinking that they can climb upward rung by rung and that the bigger the official posts they get, the bigger the privileges and the more enjoyment they will obtain. There are also some who advocate the "theory that one must be an official in order to join the Party," thinking that once they become officials they need no longer to seriously remold their world outlook and that the Party would throw its door wide open and invite them in or else, as they might say, "fail to carry out the policies." This in essence is to regard joining the Party as a means of preserving one's official post or getting a bigger official post. In the eyes of these people, it is clear, a Party card is no more than a red coupon with which to exchange for commodities or money. But this absolutely will not be permitted by the Party. The Communist Party is composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat and should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy. Both the nature of the Party and its tasks determine that its members must be vanguard fighters who work for the well-being of the overwhelming majority of people in their own country and in the world, and not political speculators bent on private gains. Lenin soberly saw the very serious corrosive and disruptive effects that these speculators could cause on the healthy body of the Party, and particularly stressed the need to stick to strict criteria for Party membership in order to put up a gate against those speculators who wanted to join the Party in their eagerness to "have a grab."

At that time, not only were there people who wanted to join the Party to "have a grab," but within the Party also, there were certain persons who followed the vulgar style of bourgeois politicians when they "promised" and "pleased" some people whom they enlisted for Party membership. The "oppositionist group" organized by Trotsky and the so-called "buffer group" organized by Bukharin and his like invariably formed gangs for private interest by the method of making "promises," and "expanded the Party ranks" and "promoted cadres" according to the interest of bourgeois factionalism so as to achieve their reactionary aim of setting up mountain strongholds, practicing sectarianism and agitating for independence from the Party. In view of the historical experience within the RCP (B), Lenin pointed out explicitly: "We do not promise and do not give these rank-and-file members any advantages for joining the Party. On the contrary, just now harder and more dangerous work than usual falls to the lot of Party members." While calling on non-Party worker-peasant activists to join the Party, Lenin also pointed out in similar terms: "We promise you no advantages from doing so; it is hard work, the work of state building, we are calling you to." Thus, it was undoubtedly a severe test to every person who asked to join the Party and to every Party member when Lenin organized Party Week at the very time when the young Soviet regime was gravely threatened by the foreign imperialist armed intervention and the conspiracy and rebellion

of domestic white bandits, and discerned people's sincerity or hypocrisy toward Communism by taking advantage of the mobilizations for the front and of the subbotniks.

Would the recruitment of new Party members according to such strict criteria scare away many from the door of the Party? That didn't matter at all. Lenin said at the time: "All the better. Only sincere supporters of Communism, only persons who are conscientiously devoted to the workers' state, only honest working people, only genuine representatives of the masses that were oppressed under capitalism will join the Party." During Party Week, the Bolshevik Party--led by Lenin--enlisted as Party members a large number of fine elements from among the workers and peasants who were devoted to Communism, thus not only adding a great amount of fresh blood to itself but, by letting this group of new Party members be tested at the most difficult front and posts, considerably strengthening its fighting capabilities and effectively overcoming all sorts of difficulties it faced after the victory of the October Revolution.

While fully confirming the colossal achievements gained during Party Week, Lenin put forward the great task of purging the Party and leaving in it only politically enlightened elements who were sincerely devoted to Communism. There is, of course, no absolute purity within the Party. Class struggle in society will invariably be reflected within the Party. There is no cause for alarm when some speculators are mixed up with other members of a proletarian government party. It can only forcefully wake up the entire Party to the need to strengthen its building and make all the comrades of the Party recognize that: "We need new Party members not for advertisement purposes but for serious work." The fact of impurity within the Party also tells us: "Unless it gets rid of its waste and draws in fresh blood, the Party will have no vigor." So far as each and every Communist is concerned, it is not enough merely to recognize or have a general understanding of the Party's constitution; it is necessary to comprehend deeply the task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to dedicate his or her life to the fulfillment of this task. The moment a person thinks that joining the Party means entering a red safety vault and means doing away with the necessity of re-studying and re-transforming himself or even believes that he may go right ahead to enjoy a comfortable life, he starts taking the road toward degeneration. In the minds of this kind of people, there is basically no Party concept, only the idea of gaining official promotions and making a personal fortune. They join the Party for the purpose of demanding a high price from the proletariat and regard joining the Party as a brick to knock the door open or a ladder to climb upward. If these people persist in their perverse course, they will eventually end up leaving the Party.

In the concluding part of the article "The Workers' State and Party Week," Lenin said: "More new workers from among the masses for the ranks of the Party for the purpose of taking an independent part in building the new life--that is our method of combating all difficulties, that is our path to victory." This instruction still holds an extremely vital significance today. Through the acute struggle between the two

classes and the two lines during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our Party has purged itself of a small handful of renegades, spies and unrepentant capitalist-roaders who had wormed their way into the Party and against whom clear evidence was gathered. In the meantime, it has rescued and educated a group of Party members who had erred in varying degree while developing a huge number of new Party members in the midst of struggle. Today, many young new Party members and Party members of the older generation are fighting shoulder to shoulder and have taken up leading positions at various levels. This is a hallmark of the vigorous growth of our Party's cause. However, as both historical and current experiences have shown, among a section of the Party members and a section of personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life and some have even degenerated into new bourgeois elements. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, in order to oppose this dictatorship, invariably try to corrupt our Party members and find their agents from among them through various tricks and channels. For this reason, all of our Party members, those holding leading positions in particular, must place exacting demands on themselves according to the qualifications required of an advanced element of the proletariat. They must consciously resist the material inducements offered by the bourgeoisie and the flattery of the idea of bourgeois right. They must do their best to rid themselves of bourgeois ideas and styles of all descriptions in thinking and in action, make an effort to arm their heads with the Marxist world outlook, and lead the broad masses to fight for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Conscientiously Strive To Overcome Empiricism

- Some understanding from studying "Rectify the Party's Style of Work"

by

Fang Hai (方 海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

Chairman Mao pointed out as far back as 1959 when he was opposing the P'eng Te-huai anti-Party clique: "At present the main danger is empiricism." Facts over the past dozen years have proved that empiricism is an assistant to revisionism. To practice Marxism, and not revisionism, we must therefore conscientiously strive to overcome empiricism.

As one of the manifestations of subjectivism and formalism, empiricism and dogmatism are both engendered from two different extremes. During the 1942 Yenan rectification movement Chairman Mao was critical of both dogmatism and empiricism. In "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," Chairman Mao pointed out: "There are two kinds of subjectivism in our Party, dogmatism and empiricism. Each sees only a part and not the whole. If people are not on guard, do not realize that such one-sidedness is a shortcoming and do not strive to overcome it, they are liable to go astray." In referring to the relationship between the two kinds of subjectivism, Chairman Mao spoke of empiricism as a captive of dogmatism. For dogmatists can easily assume a Marxist guise to bluff, capture and make servitors of cadres of working-class and peasant origin who cannot easily see through them; they can also bluff and ensnare the naive youth. This shows that if comrades who are engaged in practical work are content with their work experience and lack theoretical guidance their practice will often entail considerable recklessness and can easily trail behind dogmatism.

People who have made empiricist errors in the present period of socialist revolution do not understand and are reluctant to admit the truth that "without revolutionary theory there will be no revolutionary movement." They often neither read nor study theory and tend to confuse partial experience with universal truth. All chieftains of the revisionist line excel in the use of bourgeois and revisionist theories, ideas and slogans of all descriptions to deceive people, without exception affixing them with Marxist-Leninist labels. Many people who are theoretically confused could mistake certain incorrect views and tendencies for correct things and support them. They could even mistake capitalist things for socialist things and revisionist slogans for Marxist slogans. Didn't many of our comrades fall prey to swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and make themselves look ridiculous because they neither read Marxism-Leninism nor studied theory? As long as one does not read nor study theory he simply has to go along with revisionism if it beckons. For instance, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao relied heavily on "material incentive" and "putting profit in command"

in pushing the revisionist line. Some comrades who failed to recognize this trailed behind recklessly in circles. This kind of stuff which was repudiated during the great cultural revolution has continued to find a market among our comrades. The experience of socialist revolution and construction in fact tells us that material incentive only serves as a kind of corrosive. For many years there was neither salary nor an eight-grade wage system and Sundays for our revolutionary ranks, and there were limited amounts of rice, cooking oil and salt for each. However, even under such hardships and straitened circumstances people everywhere talked about politics and the mass line. With those above and below, officers and ranks, army and civilians united as one, and the Party, government and army exercising centralized leadership, they defeated Chiang Kai-shek, the Japanese aggressor and American imperialism. Since the liberation the people of the whole country for the sake of building socialism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat have pressed ahead with vigor and displayed the fighting spirit. Is it true that this surge of immense socialist activism is brought about by what is called "material incentive"? Just the opposite has been the case. "Material incentive" engenders only capitalist enthusiasm for where "material incentive" thrives the capitalist ill wind rages and socialist relationship between man and man suffers. However, those among us who have committed empiricist errors are not familiar with or know very little about the basic Marxist-Leninist theory guiding the proletarian revolution. They are keen on immediate gain, discuss things without touching the essence and are fond of giving small favors. They fall prey to swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao without even knowing that they have been deceived. This is because they have been lulled by a sense of stupor, showing the grave harm done by empiricism!

Most people who have committed empiricist errors express admiration of spontaneity, with quite a few comrades having simple class feelings. This is their strong point. However, some people often carry other baggage, in the belief that by virtue of their unsophisticated class sentiments they can naturally become "born red" without having to study Marxist-Leninist theory seriously. If we recall the struggle Lenin waged against the economic faction, we will realize that expressing admiration of spontaneity constitutes the gravest of mistakes. The economic faction in those days held that a purely workers movement itself could prescribe an independent system of ideas. They were against the proletarian political party imparting Marxism to the worker masses, talking such nonsense as "a maxim for the workers movement is struggling for improved economic conditions" and "any fractional increase in rouble in wage is more practical and precious than any form of socialism and politics." In short, they wanted the workers to be keen in narrow and unprincipled pragmatism Lenin pointed out when criticizing this fallacy that the workers' economic struggle itself in no way could spontaneously engender socialist concepts, which can only be imparted from outside. Lenin said, "By relying on its own strength the working class can only form unionist concepts, meaning such concepts as the need to form trade unions, to struggle against the factory owners and to fight for government promulgation of

certain legislation essential to the workers." In terms of scientific socialist concepts, "the political concept of class can only be imparted to the workers from outside, that is, outside the scope of economic struggle and beyond the limits of the relationship between the workers and factory proprietors." Only by constantly studying Marxism in struggle can cadres of working-class and peasant origin be aware of class struggle and line struggle. Furthermore, Lenin pointed out incisively: "People talk about what is called the self-assertive tendency, but the spontaneous development of the workers movement instead subjects it to the domination of the bourgeois ideology."

Empiricists often rest content with their own limited gains and narrow vision, regarding their "experience" as the panacea for all ills. Invariably they will use old experience to circumscribe and circumvent new things, a demonstration of their conservatism characterized by "following the routine and adhering to established regulations." Invariably they will attach particular importance to their own experience and this prevents them from going deep into reality to conduct systematic and elaborate investigation and study. Their indolence finds expression in nothing that goes beyond keeping their stomachs full and their minds idle. And inevitably they will regard their own experience as absolute and solid. This makes them stop making progress, conceited and averse to differing views, their outward manifestations being identical to obstinate bureaucratism. The chieftains of erroneous lines place their hopes on the recklessness, self-assertiveness and narrow outlook of the empiricists so their erroneous lines could erode the whole Party and endanger the revolution. This historical experience should be firmly borne in mind by all of our revolutionary comrades.

The best way to combat empiricism is to conscientiously study revolutionary theory and seriously and systematically read some Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's books. In "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," Chairman Mao pointed out with emphasis: "Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors." Since the 2nd plenary session of the 9th Party Central Committee Chairman Mao has repeatedly stressed the need to "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism." More recently Chairman Mao again instructed us to comprehend clearly the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat. In overcoming empiricism we must adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice as has been consistently upheld by our Party. Although empiricism differs from dogmatism in the point of departure, in essence both tend to separate theory from practice, the subjective from the objective. In combating empiricism we should urge those who have committed empiricist errors to closely link theory with practice, to pay attention in study to integrating the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution with the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to make conscientious efforts to conduct some investigations and study regarding the prevailing conditions. On the basis of studying conscientiously, we should link our

study with the practical problems that have occurred in the political, economic, ideological, cultural and educational spheres, conscientiously analyzing and studying them and giving scientific explanations and theoretical interpretations. We should scientifically sum up the experience of those comrades who have practical work experience, since their experience is of great benefit and immense value. While summing up experience is a Marxist practice, this should proceed from the interests of the class rather than from personal considerations of gain and loss. If we summarize experience from personal considerations we will often end up in a blind alley and repeatedly make the same mistakes that we have made in the past. Only by taking as the guide Chairman Mao's instruction regarding the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and conducting investigation and study well and summing up experience for the sake of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat can we deepen our understanding of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and curb recklessness and increase consciousness in our actions.

The movement in which the people of the whole country are engaged in the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has made very rapid progress. Guided by the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must overcome empiricism and on this basis penetratingly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only by doing so can we do a better job of the various types of work under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Recall the Socialist Education Movement in Urban and Rural Areas

by

Chai Ch'ing (翟青)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 16, 1975)

A mammoth socialist education movement was unfolded in the urban and rural areas of our country from the autumn-winter period of 1962 to the summer of 1966. This was a great struggle for the proletariat to impose dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. To recall this struggle in the historical context will help us to study the theory of the proletarian dictatorship today.

The great socialist education movement in urban and rural areas was a continuation and development of the protracted struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in Chinese society. Judging by the conditions at that time, internationally the Soviet revisionist renegade clique was stirring up anti-China, anti-Communist waves in collusion with imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries. At home a small handful of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists took the opportunity to come out to launch frantic offensives against the Party and socialism. They either openly carried out class reprisals and attacked the poor and lower-middle peasants or tried by all possible means to woo and corrupt the cadres and usurp the leadership, or used religious superstitions and the rotten ideas of the exploiting classes to carry out counter-revolutionary propaganda on a mass scale, develop counter-revolutionary organizations or even engage in all kinds of sabotage activities. Triggered by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, capitalist spontaneous forces also began to spread like a flood. In society, in addition to those old bourgeois elements, new bourgeois elements also appeared from among a section of workers and peasants and even from among Party members. All these facts show that in spite of the fact that we had gone through the "San Fan" and "Wu Fan" struggles and basically accomplished the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production and despite the great victory won in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts in 1957, the class struggle was anything but over. "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute." If we make a mess of things, a socialist country like ours may turn into its opposite any time and capitalist restoration may take place.

On the basis of the Marxist theory on the proletarian dictatorship and in light of the situation of class struggle at that time, our Party promptly unfolded a socialist education movement among the people throughout the country. At the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee in 1962, Chairman Mao issued the great call "Never forget class

struggle." Meanwhile, having summed up the historical experience of the proletarian dictatorship at home and abroad, he comprehensively set forth a basic line for the Party in the historical period of socialism, unambiguously suggesting "it is necessary to conduct socialist education." In May 1963, under Chairman Mao's direction, the "Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work" (i.e., the 10-Point Decision) was worked out, which laid down the line, principles and policies of the Party for the socialist education movement. In this document, Chairman Mao again warned the whole Party: If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten, "if the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and were corrupted, divided and demoralized by him, if our cadres were thus pulled out or the enemy were able to sneak in, and if many of our workers, peasants and intellectuals were left defenseless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolution on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!" Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a vigorous socialist education movement was set in motion in both urban and rural areas throughout the country. The vast masses of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, members of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals all actively plunged into this great movement. Several hundred million cadres throughout the country went deep into grassroots units in both urban and rural areas. A new high tide appeared in our socialist revolution.

The socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas began in the rural areas principally as a "four clean-up" movement with the main emphasis on clearing up accounts, stocks, financial affairs and work points. In the cities it mainly took the form of a "Wu Fan" movement against corruption, stealing, profiteering, waste and extravagance, disunity and bureaucracy. These two movements were later unified into a "four clean-up" movement in the urban and rural areas, aimed at cleaning up politics, the economy, the organization and ideology. As a result of this struggle, the revolutionary class ranks were reorganized, the counter-revolutionary arrogance of the capitalist forces was suppressed, and the overwhelming majority of people in these forces were transformed into new people. Our Party was further turned into a more glorious, greater and more correct party.

Both the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the historical experience of this dictatorship at home and abroad tell us that so far as a socialist country is concerned, the main danger of capitalist restoration comes from bourgeois representatives sneaking into the Party. At that time, a small handful of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists as well as

those who were seriously afflicted by capitalist ideology resorted to a thousand and one means to cover up their activities to restore capitalism, such as inviting people to dinner or presenting them with gifts, establishing connections through friends and relatives, and flattery, by sneaking in themselves or pulling people out, and as a result, some Party cadres became their agents. And among the Party cadres, some sank into the slough of revisionism or even degenerated into power holders taking the capitalist road because they had forgotten the class and line struggles and forgotten the transformation of their world outlook, because they so "practiced peaceful co-existence politically, became compromising and muddle-headed organizationally and perfunctory economically" that they were unable to resist the class enemy's attempt at corruption. Some of these power holders taking the capitalist road, acting on the center of the stage, openly colluded with the class enemy and capitalist spontaneous forces inside and out in carrying out activities to restore capitalism on a large scale. Others, hiding behind the scenes, appeared as "Party cadres," spoke for the landlord and bourgeois classes and became the protectors of the class enemy. In the units under the control of these people, leadership was actually not in the hands of real Marxists and the broad masses. Although in form they were still under the socialist system of ownership, in reality they had turned into units under the capitalist system of ownership. For this reason, in the document "Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialst Education Movement in the Rural Areas" (i.e., the 23-Point Document), Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road."

The small handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party, in order to restore capitalism, necessarily had to recruit mutineers and accept renegades and collude with each other at the top and bottom. At the bottom, supporters of the capitalist roaders were unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists; at the top they were people in leading departments at various levels who were opposed to socialism. And the chief backstage boss of all these capitalist forces was the bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i who was still hidden in the Party at that time. The fact that in some areas and units capitalism had run so amuck was also fundamentally due to Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line characterized by san-tzu i-pao, "four big freedoms," material incentives and putting bonuses in command. The struggle involved in the socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas tells us: To change the Party's basic line, chieftains of the opportunist lines within the Party are bound to foster those degenerates holding positions of leadership and unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and make them the class basis for restoring capitalism. This is true with the rise to power of Khrushchevian revisionism in the Soviet Union; the same is true with the criminal activities of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao to restore capitalism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. With a view to subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and

undermining the worker-peasant alliance, the class enemy will invariably gang up with capitalist forces in both urban and rural areas. Capitalist tendencies exist both in the rural areas and in the cities; they exist within the collective economy and in state-operated enterprises. More often than not, capitalist activities in the rural areas are linked with those in the cities, colluding with and exploiting each other in doing evil. Hence, the general development of the socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas at that time turned the capitalist forces into rats running across the street, denounced by the vast masses of the people in town and country, thereby effectively consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As the socialist education movement is a great struggle for the proletariat to impose dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, it is bound to arouse the bitter hostility and desperate resistance of the class enemy. So, just when the socialist education movement was progressing triumphantly in the urban and rural areas under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-ch'i within the Party tossed out a bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence to counteract Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Shortly after the publication of the "10-Point" Decision by the Party Central Committee concerning the socialist education movement, Liu Shao-ch'i impatiently cooked up a "latter ten-point decision" and directed his wife to create a set of so-called "T'aoyüan experiences." This reactionary line sought to replace the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads with the absurd theory that "the contradiction is between four clean-up and four non-clean-up" and "contradictions inside and outside the Party or contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people are interlocked." The reactionary policy of "attacking the many and protecting a handful" was adopted toward cadres, and it was said nonsensically "shake the tree three times whether it has fruit or not; dry up the pond whether it has fish or not." But the masses were not allowed to expose and criticize a tiny band of class enemies. In the course of this movement, moreover, Liu Shao-ch'i openly attacked investigations and study initiated by Chairman Mao as being "out-dated" and advanced the idealist slogan "take roots and link up," for fear that cadres and the masses might really be aroused to action. In short, the basic purpose of this bourgeois reactionary line was to oppose the Party's basic line, cover up the nature of this movement, confuse the two qualitatively different types of contradictions, shift the target of struggle, disrupt the class alignments, and protect a handful of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and power holders taking the capitalist road within the Party from being ferreted out. However, the moment this reactionary line was tossed out, it was resisted and opposed by the cadres and masses. In January 1965, the "23-Point" Decision was worked out under Chairman Mao's personal direction, which was a thorough critique of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence.

Whom should we attack? Whom should we protect? This has always been an important mark showing the class character of a dictatorship. The

real object of Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois reactionary line, which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, was to impose the bourgeois dictatorship over the cadres and the masses. In the successive major political movements launched by our Party since the liberation, the target of attack has always been a handful of class enemies, while for the large numbers of cadres and the masses, each of these has always been an "education on opposing capitalism and strengthening socialism." In the course of the socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas, our Party had from first to last directed the spearhead of struggle at a handful of class enemies and persons who obstinately took the capitalist road. Toward those cadres who had made mistakes, the policy of "persuasion and education, washing hands and taking a bath, going to battle with a light pack, and uniting against the enemy" was adopted. In the meantime, among the masses was conducted a general education on recalling the past and comparing it with the present with the aim of enabling the masses to distinguish socialism from capitalism on the basis of personal experience and the actual class struggle and to recognize the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration so as to be convinced by the great truth that "only socialism can save China." In this way, they basically raised their consciousness of the need to take the socialist road. Practice proves that only by firmly mastering the various proletarian policies of the Party and by strictly differentiating between the two different types of contradictions is it possible to really isolate a small handful of class enemies and to unite with over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses.

The class line of our Party is founded on the basis of class analysis. To adhere to this class line, it is necessary to insist on investigation and study as a Marxist scientific method, to make penetrating and detailed investigation and analysis of the various classes in society. At that time, besides bringing up again the Marxist viewpoint that "he who makes no investigation has no right to speak" and stressing such methods of investigation and study as "holding investigation meetings," "squatting at a point," and "dissecting sparrows," Chairman Mao published the brilliant work "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" and incisively expounded the Marxist theory of knowledge. Experience has shown: "Absence of actual investigation will give rise to idealist class appraisals and idealist guidance of work and the result will either be opportunism or acting blindly." For this reason, being good at applying the Marxist viewpoint to investigation and study is a basic requirement in making a success of our work in all fields and in persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

By recalling the historical experience of the socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas, we can see clearly that following the seizure of political power by the proletariat, if we are to abolish the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, it is necessary to persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration. Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution: "We do not know whether a

period of temporary reaction will appear after our victory. A period of temporary counter-revolutionary victory is not impossible; therefore, after our victory we must dig 'three rows of trenches' to guard against such a possibility." The great victory of the socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas not only dealt stunning blows to the capitalist and revisionist forces but also prepared the conditions both in theory and in practice for the launching of the great cultural revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat has never been so consolidated as it is now as a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. However, it must be seen that the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is protracted. All Communists and all revolutionaries should make a serious study of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, consciously stick to the Party's basic line, and strive vigorously to fulfill the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

* * *

Leave "Petersburg"!

- Notes on reading Lenin's letter to Gorky in July 1919

by

Jen Tu (任犨)

(Chao-hsia /Morning Glow/,* No. 3, March 20, 1975)

Recently, I read a letter Comrade Hu Wan-ch'un wrote to the Editorial Department of Chao-hsia. In it, he said that after he had restudied Lenin's instruction to Gorky in 1919, asking him to leave Petersburg, he was deeply impressed. A worker writer who had grown up with the training given by the Party and who had later taken a detour finally turned around and arrived at a profound comprehension of the instruction given by the teacher of the revolution. So, for the worker-peasant-soldier writers who have emerged since the great cultural revolution, it is naturally of self-evident vital significance for them to remember their lessons and constantly drive themselves with the instructions of the teachers of the revolution.

Why did Lenin, so soon after the victory of the October Revolution, ask Gorky to leave Petersburg? He did so after he had made an analysis of the class struggle in the ideological sphere at that time and of the reflection of this struggle in Gorky. It was rather strange that while the vast masses of workers and peasants were fighting a bloody battle to defend the newborn dictatorship of the proletariat, Gorky, who had earlier hailed the revolutionary storms, was complaining about the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries as being too "brutal," was calling for the bourgeois "fraternity and equality," and was even cursing the "widening gulf" between himself and communism. Why? The main reason, Lenin found, was that Gorky, who was himself a worker writer, had divorced himself from his own class, from the masses of workers and peasants, and had found himself trapped in Petersburg, "surrounded by those bourgeois intellectuals who were full of hatred." Hence, busy as he was, Lenin wrote him a lengthy letter, admonishing him "to change your environment completely, change the people with whom you are in contact, change your place of abode, change your work," leave Petersburg, and "go to the rural areas or factories in other places (or the front) to see how people are building a new life. There, by simple observation alone, you will easily separate the decay of the old things from the budding of the new things."

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Quite clearly, we cannot interpret "Petersburg" as meant by Lenin merely as the name of one city. Leaving Petersburg means breaking out from the ring of encirclement by the bourgeois intellectuals. As this question was raised in 1919, after the victory of the revolution, it embraced a law of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "the bourgeoisie has not given up its hope for restoration, nor has it abandoned its attempt to restore its rule." Remember what an utterly reactionary bourgeois intellectual had declared angrily after the October Revolution. "There is one area," he said, "where we have not turned old. On the contrary, the longer we live, the more experienced and powerful we will be." This area was the area of literature and art. Therefore, they defended it to the last, fostered it painstakingly and prolonged the bourgeois dictatorship in this area under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship, thereby creating a number of big and small "Petersburgs." This was as true for the Soviet Union after the October Revolution as it was for China after the liberation. Many literary and art organizations, particularly those "associations" under a variety of names, controlled by the revisionist sinister line on literature and art before the great cultural revolution were such "Petersburgs." Chairman Mao stated pointedly in 1964: "These associations and most of the publications (a few are said to be good) under their control have for the last 15 years <u>basically</u> (not all the people) refused to carry out Party policies. Putting on airs as bureaucrats, they do not get in touch with the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not produced anything to portray the socialist revolution and construction. <u>In recent years</u>, they have even fallen on the brink of revisionism. If they are not seriously transformed, they are bound to become one day organizations like the Petofi Club of Hungary." From Lenin's instruction to Gorky to leave Petersburg to Chairman Mao's criticism of China's "Petersburgs" in the 1960's, nearly half a century has elapsed, and in this prolonged period similar occurrences have reflected the protracted and devious nature of this struggle unfolded under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship.

Leaving "Petersburg" does not mean abandoning it. On the contrary, it means defeating and taking it over. But just as the formation of the reactionary encirclement ring in "Petersburg" does not merely represent the interests of a few individuals but the interests of the whole of the overthrown bourgeois class, so the proletariat, in order to vanquish it, absolutely cannot rely on one or a few persons alone but must rely on the strength of an entire class. So far as Gorky was concerned, where were his class brothers? Not in his editorial office where foreign literature was being translated nor in those gloomy literary and art salons nearby but in the factories, the rural areas, at the front, in the trenches where a battle was being waged against the bandits under Denikin and Kolchak. When Lenin asked him to leave Petersburg, he wanted him to go back to his own class ranks where to draw on the rising fighting power and acquire spiritual armament

sufficient to cope with the bourgeoisie surrounding him. Therefore, this warmhearted yet solemn admonition represented the appeal and concern of the entire class for Gorky.

No single worker alone can represent the proletariat. Leaving the class ranks, even such a worker writer as Gorky, however good his origin and however glorious his past, cannot vanquish the bourgeoisie, cannot even resist the attempt of the bourgeoisie to corrupt and poison him. That is why Gorky, who had been as tenacious as a petrel, had at one time become so depressed and shaky after the October Revolution. After the liberation our Party had also brought up a group of worker-peasant writers with the greatest revolutionary zeal. The course of their growth is still remembered by people (but regrettably forgotten by some among them) to this day. Some began with only the cultural level of a primary school student, and some were even semi-literate. The Party and the entire proletariat gave them a pen and taught them by the hand how to read and write. When the first batch of their works appeared before readers' eyes, however immature, they were like spring wind blown into the area of literature and art filled as it was with the aura of decay, they were so fresh, healthy and full of revolutionary fighting power. They were, in a sense, the spokesmen of numerous class brothers battling in the workshops and besides the lathes. Since they spoke for a revolutionary class full of vigor and vitality, they were naturally also vigorous and reinvigorating, from author to product. Then, as is known to all, the revisionist sinister line on literature and art beckoned them and finally had some of them locked into the Writers' Association -- the "Petersburg," "surrounded by those bourgeois intellectuals full of hatred." As a result, a few years later some turned revisionist, and some fared a little better but even they had developed mildew. In short, to speak on behalf of that class which had diligently nurtured them was anything but easy.

How did they change? Wicked things in the world often begin with refusal to take part in labor. Since they had left the posts of labor and the frontline of the three great revolutionary struggles and since they themselves were not alert and paid no attention to the transformation of their thought, in reality, they had gradually ceased to exist in society as members of the working class, and the word "worker" of "worker writers" became merely a decoration in form or a memory of the past. Since they had left the source of creation, it was difficult for such writers to produce any fine work rooted in the real revolutionary life, but more than that, since being determines consciousness, their stand and viewpoint also changed as a matter of course. The sensitive might become blunt; those with a clear conception of right and wrong might transpose truth with falsehood. Thus Lenin told Gorky, who once had lost the revolutionary standard of right and wrong, that by battling at the frontline with the worker and peasant masses, "you will, by simple observation alone, easily separate the decay of the old things from the budding of the new things." Contrariwise, if you stayed for long in "Petersburg," in the Writers' Association, you might not find it so easy to separate the new things from the old even if you were "exceptionally clever." Then came a series of strange

phenomena -- looking upon old things as new, taking the things one had despised before as the goal to be pursued..... And in time all this would inevitably be reflected in their works, and the political and artistic life of worker writers would wither in the meantime.

What we have said above are mainly subjective factors. Chairman Mao has all along taught us that in making an analysis of some problems arising from the revolutionary ranks, we "should lay the emphasis not on the responsibility of some comrades, but on an analysis of the environment at the time, the content of the mistakes, the social, historical and ideological sources of the mistakes at the time." Hence, we also feel that the worker writers should not bear all the responsibility for their change, which is a reflection in them of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Moreover, this struggle has its special form and content under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and summing it up may be of general educational significance. When Gorky wrote such revolutionary works as "Mother," was he not surrounded by the bourgeoisie? Pointing their finger at his nose, they accused him of being a "Red devil" and a "dangerous element" and even carried out all sorts of persecution against him politically and materially. Coldly laughing off such encirclement, Gorky continued his fight. Yet after the victory of the October Revolution and after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, these people transformed themselves overnight into Gorky's "old friends" and "old people," fawning upon and flattering him, even making a confession to him and trying to "win him over" with the bourgeois theory of human nature. Wiping the tears from their eyes, they begged Gorky to speak for them. Gorky was softened and deceived. Not a few of our worker writers had found themselves in similar situations though time had changed. In the Writers' Association, those who flattered these worker writers, treated them nicely and offered them the chance for "advanced studies" were, for the most part, people who had ridden roughshod over them before the liberation, depriving them of political and cultural rights or cursing and attacking their works scarcely had they appeared. Two kinds of encirclement, differing in form, contain one common characteristic, namely, the bourgeoisie clearly treats the worker writers as representatives of the working class. Whether they resort to oppression or corruption, it is because they have heard from the works of worker writers the strong voice of their grave diggers -- the proletariat. They are deeply aware of the threat posed by the growth of the contingent of proletarian writers and artists. Frightened beyond all description, they find many ways to strangle it and if they cannot do so, win it over. If worker writers are alone representing nothing but themselves, why should they work so hard? Our comrades may sometimes forget this, but the bourgeoisie has not forgotten and will never forget it, even though it orally denies the existence of classes and class struggle.

As this is a battle to win over one class by another, the bourgeoisie naturally resorts to the tricks characteristic of its own class. In a certain sense, the ring of encirclement by the bourgeoisie is a ring of encirclement by bourgeois right. The naked concept of private ownership and the viciously extended class distinctions -- these are the

complete order of life in "Petersburg." By so energetically advocating "three-fames and three-highs" and by luring some worker writers with the bait of payments for their manuscripts, fame and profit in such a despicable manner, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chou Yang and their associates wanted no more than to pull the workers out from their own class ranks and into the net of bourgeois right. When you persuade yourself that you are born to be a writer, completely forget the training and trust given by your own class and devote your energy entirely to your personal career, when you do not regard the literary cause as a cause of your own class and are interested in "one man going deep into life, creating and winning personal fame," and when you arrogantly treat the newly engendered worker-peasant-soldier writers with the attitude the bourgeois overlords had taken toward you, their aim is achieved. Then they will gleefully honor those worker writers who regard the pitfall as a paradise and look upon "Petersburg" as their home as masters of "Petersburg"!

Yes, members of the working class are the masters of the state, and certainly they should also become the masters of the superstructure as a whole, exercising all-round proletarian dictatorship in the ideological realm. But this is a class dictatorship, and only when a worker specifically appears as a member of the working class resolutely carrying out the Party's basic line will he fight with sound and color in the world of ideology. Otherwise, he may gradually turn into a dissenter, and the masters will still be the members of the bourgeoisie. This is true with the "Writers' Association"; it is also true with the other sectors of the superstructure. This has been verified by historical experience. What a fierce battle for one class to win over another!

To be sure, when several worker writers were poisoned at one time and some even lost their identity because of this, it did not mean that the bourgeoisie had won. Nor would "Petersburg" boost its vitality on account of this. For the mighty proletarian revolutionary army is still advancing. More worker-peasant-soldier writers are growing up healthily under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. In the midst of the violent struggle the proletarian cause of literature and art will only develop more thrivingly and boom. Nor will the proletariat abandon those comrades who once dropped out from the ranks, but they can be won over from the bourgeoisie only in the violent storms of class struggle. The primary need is to strengthen the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, to completely crush the "Petersburgs' of all shades and colors, and, at the same time, to use the method of the great Lenin to urge these comrades to return to the frontline of the three great revolutions. Since the great cultural revolution the vast numbers of worker comrades have taken on the task of re-educating and transforming those that were their class brothers several years ago. They graphically describe this revolutionary measure as "going back to the furnace": going back to the Red melting pot of the three great revolutionary struggles, going back to the proletarian revolutionary ranks, going back to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Practice proves that these worker writers who have come out from "Petersburg" still have to undergo an arduous course of re-transformation before they can restore their own class features and catch up with the new situation. For instance, to

act like the large group of new writers who so actively use their own works to portray the current struggle, they must all the more study again with seriousness and modesty. But the fiery fire of the furnace is continually burning away the bourgeois mildew that has contaminated them, continually injecting new content into their political and artistic life. We are convinced that having learned the lesson, they will grow better and more rapidly than before.

It is of great practical significance for us to look back over the struggle -- going in and out of "Petersburg" -- that has continued for several decades down this day from 1919. Since the great cultural revolution the Party has again brought up a large group of worker-peasant-soldier writers with immense zeal. Where they could not write before, they have learned to write, and are actively fighting to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat with the pen as the weapon. The new revolutionary struggle has enabled them to surpass previous worker-peasant-soldier writers in many respects both politically and artistically, proving as nothing else can that, as in other areas, the same thing is happening to the literary and art contingent of the proletariat: "Wave after wave rises in the Yangtze, and one generation of revolutionaries excels the preceding one." Yet historical experience also tells us: In our society, it is not too difficult to learn to write, but it is extremely hard to forever keep from leaving one's own class, to forever propagate and defend the Party's basic line with the pen. The Writers' Association as the product of the revisionist sinister line for literature and art has been spurned by the broad masses of the revolutionary people, but "on the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeoisie." Because of this, all sorts of encirclement rings of the bourgeoisie will continually appear, and big and small "Petersburgs" known as writers' associations will come into being. One of their main tricks will still be what is described by Lenin, "deliberately dividing the workers," to cause capitalism and the bourgeoisie to emerge from a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. This deserves the vigilance of vast numbers of worker-peasant-soldier writers. We must never depart from the practice of the three great revolutions. We must never relax our study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. We must never slacken the transformation of our thought. We must never be infatuated with bourgeois right which once had been rampant in the area of literature and art. We must never regard the cause of literature as a personal cause. And we must never let the bourgeoisie pull us out from our own class ranks!

Let Lenin's instruction on leaving "Petersburg" always ring loudly in our ears!

* * *

Ch'ao Ts'o's Strategic Thinking on Resisting the Huns

by

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(Li Shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1975)

In the early period of the Western Han, the slave-owners military regime of the Huns, a nomadic nationality in the northern regions of our country, frequently unleashed war and encroached on the land under the Han jurisdiction, posing as it did a grave threat to the the feudal political power of the Western Han as well as bringing untold sufferings to the vast masses of the laboring people, including those of the Huns. On the question of dealing with the Huns, the Confucianist and the Legalist schools unfolded an extremely sharp struggle against each other. In 169 B.C., the Legalist Ch'ao Ts'o (晁错) in his "Memorial on the Military Situation" argued in the strongest terms for a war of resistance and put forward a set of strategic policies for fighting against the Huns.

Chairman Mao says: "The task of the science of strategy is to study those laws for directing a war that govern a war situation as a whole." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War") Having summed up the historical experience of the war against the Huns since the rise of Han and recognized the Huns as the principal enemy of the Han dynasty, the "Memorial on the Military Situation" dwelt on the conditions that were necessary for winning the war against the Huns, criticized the Confucian capitulationist line and defeatist moods, analyzed the relationship of weapons to terrain and the quality of the soldiers, and put forward concretely the strategy and tactics for a war of resistance against the Huns. It was an important military theoretical work profounded from the Legalist point of view. In "Outline History of Han Literature" Lu Hsün listed it as one of "the great essays of Western Han," praising Ch'ao Ts'o for his "profound insight" on the question of resisting the Huns, as developed in a work with what he regarded as "the most far-reaching and beneficial significance to later generations." Today, a study of this work will certainly help us deepen the criticism of Lin Piao's traitorous, capitulationist line, increase our understanding of Chairman Mao's great strategic policy for strengthening preparations against war and getting ready to fight, and further get prepared against a war of aggression.

(1)

In his "Memorial on the Military Situation," Ch'ao Ts'o revealed the reactionary nature of the Hun slave-owners military regime in "frequently intruding into the border areas" for aggressive purposes and called for active preparations in all quarters for a war of resistance because, in his view, there was no alternative to the consolidation of a unified feudal country of centralized power.

China was a unitary multi-national country. The Huns were a minority nationality in our ancient country, "residing along the northern border." ("The Huns, History of Han") After the death of King Wu of Chou, the Huns "often paid tribute" to Chou. During the Spring and Autumn Period, they "declared allegiance to Ch'in" as well as "paying homage to Tsin." ("The Story of the Huns, Historical Records") During the Warring States period, the Hun people also had exchanges with the people of the three states of Yen, Chao and Ch'in. But the Hun slave-owners, dictated by the need to seize slaves and property, invaded the south frequently. After unifying the six states, Ch'in Shih Huang had dispatched his son Fu Su and the great general Meng T'ien to fight the Huns and won major victories. Later, when Chao Kao had Fu Su and Meng T'ien murdered by conspiracy, the Huns intruded once again by taking advantage of the confusion so created and, during the contention between Ch'u and Han, raided and occupied the areas south of Hotao. Subsequently their influence was extended into Shansi and the northern part of Hopei. Liu Pang in the early period of the Western Han was forced by insufficient economic and military strength and the power of the divisive and restorationist forces in the country to adopt a "good neighbor" policy toward the Hun slave-owners military regime and practice temporary compromise with it. But, with insatiable greed and their appetite further whetted, the Huns never ceased making war. The reactionary Confucianists, bent as they were on restoration, persistently called for the adoption of a capitulationist line in an attempt to influence and reform the Huns with benevolence and righteousness. Meanwhile, the divisive forces within the Han royal court and the restorationist forces of the slave-owners were colluding with the Hun slave-owners in a bid to topple the newly emerging landlord class regime from within and without. In 201 B.C. King Hsin of Han "surrendered Ma-i to the barbarians and allowed them to attack T'aiyüan," ("King Hsin of Han, History of Han") and provided the Hun slave-owners with his counsel. Subsequently, Ch'en Hsi, Prime Minister of Chao and Lu Wan, King of Yen, also ignominiously surrendered to the Huns. In 177 B.C. when the Huns were carrying out yet another predatory war by "invading the Honan area," the opportunist and ambitionist Liu Hsing-chu, King of Chipei, who was hiding in the Han royal court, took advantage of Emperor Wen of Han's departure for T'aiyüan to direct the war of resistance against the Huns and started an armed rebellion in the interior with a view to achieving his criminal purpose of dividing the Han dynasty by secession and attempting to undermine the unified political power of the Western Han by joining hands with the forces of the Hun slave-owners. The above facts show that to make inroads into the Han land, the Hun slave-owners necessarily had to find their agents within the Han royal court and that the divisive forces within the Han court and the restorationist forces of the slave-owners pinned their hopes on military invasions by the Hun slave-owners, so that on the point of overthrowing the Western Han central government of the landlord class their interests coincided and hence they invariably colluded with one another. This is a historical law that merits serious attention.

"The national struggle, in the final analysis, is a class struggle." The contradictions between the Huns and the Western Han dynasty, in essence, were contradictions between the Hun slave-owning aristocracy and the broad masses of the laboring people including the Hun slaves, contradictions between the decadent slave-owning class and the newly emerging landlord class, and contradictions between the backward slave system and the ascending feudal system. While it was naturally impossible for Ch'ao Ts'o, a Legalist, to understand these contradictions on the plane of class struggle, he had done a most valuable service in that he bitterly resented the aggressive Hun slave-owning aristocrats, irrevocably opposed the capitulationist line of the Confucianists, and called for ending war with war and opposing the unjust war of the Hun slave-owners by a just war of self-defense.

(II)

In his "Memorial on the Military Situation," Ch'ao Ts'o made a concrete analysis of the objective situation and the balance of strength between the Han and the Huns, and concluded that the Han royal court not only had to resist the Huns but was fully capable of defeating them.

In the early Han the reactionary Confucianists, in order to push a traitorous, capitulationist line, did the best they could to spread the fallacy that the Huns were so powerful as to be invincible. Summing up the experience and lessons from the resistance against the Huns in the early days of Han, Ch'ao Ts'o severely denounced those reactionary Confucinaists who were scared out of their wits by the superficial might of the Huns, pointing out that the Hun slave-owners, who used their troops to "storm cities and commit massacre" and who acted like "big robbers killing government officials and soldiers," were sure to arouse strong opposition from the people. He held that faced with the "robbers," the people would unite to stand up to them and that if the strength of the people was mobilized, namely, "if the people who have suffered so much are aroused into action against the Huns riding on the crest of victory," they would certainly be able to repulse the attacks of the Hun slave-owning aristocrats. In 177 B.C. King Yuhsien, chieftain of the Hun slave-owners, led his troops to invade the north of Peiti prefecture and areas south of Hotao. Emperor Wen of Han "dispatched Prime Minister Kuan Ying to lead the counter-offensive against the Huns" ("Chronicle of Emperor Wen, History of Han"), driving back King Yuhsien and scoring the first victory in the war of resistance against the Huns since the inception of Han. Ch'ao Ts'o stated pointedly: The reason why "a strong army was defeated" and a major victory was won in this campaign against the Huns was that "the people who have suffered greatly" were aroused to unite against the Huns. With facts, he crushed the myth created by the Confucianists that the Huns were invincible.

Aiming also at the fallacy spread by the reactionary Confucianists that the cavalry of the Huns was so fierce that one should avoid engaging it, Ch'ao Ts'o made a detailed analysis of the characteristics

of the two armies--the Han and Hun, and the balance of strength between them. In the "Memorial on the Military Situation," he pointed out that the Hun army had the following advantages: its horses were able to gallop up and down the hillside and in and out of mountain brooks and streams; its soldiers were good at shooting on horseback; and both men and horses were capable of withstanding wind and rain, the fatigue of a long march and thirst. The Han army, on the other hand, had these advantages: They were good at fighting with chariots on the plains, good at using bows and spears and could throw their spears a longer distance; during a battle they fought in compact formations with flexibly varying tactics; the archers were swift and had a high percentage of hits; and the soldiers were good at fighting off their horses and at close quarters. It could be seen that the Huns had "three advantages" against the "five advantages" enjoyed by the Han troops. The Han dynasty also enjoyed the numerical superiority, "pitting several hundred thousand men against several tens of thousand Huns," thus possessing ample conditions for defeating the Huns. From Ch'ao Ts'o's advocacy of fighting the Huns on the plains, one can vaguely see that he had this valuable idea: Entering the plains, the Hun army lost the advantages of fighting on its home ground and could not make proper use of their tactics and skills, while fully exposing its weaknesses; the Han army, "fighting with advantages against a vulnerable enemy," was sure to overwhelm him and win the victory. This was an important revelation for vanquishing the aggressors.

Ch'ao Ts'o's analysis and conclusion that the war of resistance against the Huns would surely result in victory thus laid the militarily theoretical foundation for the war undertaken by the Western Han against the Huns, reflecting the vigorous and progressive spirit of the landlord class in its period of ascendancy. Without exception, those who practiced capitulationism invariably over-estimated the strength of the reactionaries and under-estimated the strength of the revolutionary class, boosting the arrogance of the enemy while demoralizing themselves. This was what Lin Piao had done. As early as in the period of the Chingkangshan struggle, he had spread pessimistic views and asked, "How long can the red flag be kept flying?" During the Liaohsi-Shenyang and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns in the period of the War of Liberation, he, fearing the enemy as a tiger, did not dare to engage the Kuomintang troops in strategically decisive battles, showing that he was no different from the reactionary Confucianists in history.

(III)

Unswerving in his stand for war, Ch'ao Ts'o also concretely studied and proposed the strategy and tactics for the war against the Huns.

First, it was necessary to uphold the line of resistance by "uniting the troops and raising their morale." He was insistent on uniting the troops and heightening their fighting will and raising the spirit of the people to resist the enemy at the height of his arrogance.

And he not only called for "uniting the troops," he also called for "uniting the hearts" of the minority nationalities in the frontier regions, uniting and winning them over, providing them with "good armor," "strong bows and arrows" and "fine horses," so that all the nationalities would join hands and "use their respective skills" to resist the Hun slave-owners. This shows that to a certain degree Ch'ao Ts'o saw the role of the army and the people in the war against the Huns, while criticizing and negating the capitulationist line of the Confucianists that could only lead to division and regression.

Second, it was imperative to choose "good generals." In Ch'ao Ts'o's view, this was a most important question. If the ruler paid no attention to choosing good generals to direct the war of resistance, he "might as well be handing over the country to the enemy." This idea was apparently advanced after he had summed up the painful lessons in history. Ch'ao Ts'o maintained that "good generals" should be judged in the following way: first of all they must have a firm stand for the war of resistance and must be brave and tenacious and good at leading the troops. When they were sent to the frontier regions to work among the minority nationalities, they should all the more understand the policies as applied to them, understand the customs and habits of the minority nationalities, and be good at uniting with their "fighting men." The fact that under the circumstances at that time, Ch'ao Ts'o was able to gain a simple knowledge of the relationship of the role of generals to the implementation of the line of resistance showed his progressive aspect. But when he argued that "there are invincible generals and no invincible people" and when he wrongly emphasized the role of commanders to the neglect of the role of the masses, that was his error, a demonstration of his class limitations.

Third, it was necessary to observe the operational principle that "one must know the enemy as well as oneself" and "one must use one's advantages to attack the enemy's weaknesses." This was an important idea developed by the Legalist military scientists in the pre-Ch'in period of our country. Ch'ao Ts'o was of the view that "gaining a favorable terrain," "having an efficient and obedient army," and "obtaining fine weapons" were the three indispensable conditions for winning the victory in a war against the enemy. "Gaining a favorable terrain" means that we must be good at making use of geographical features and objects in order to develop to the full the roles of different arms of the military establishment and different weapons. "Having an efficient and obedient army" means that soldiers must act swiftly and skilfully and observe military discipline strictly. "Obtaining fine weapons" means that weapons and equipment must be fine and in a superior condition. If soldiers had neither a full range of sharp weapons nor hard and durable armor, that might as well mean that they went to battle with empty fists and naked bodies. If you have arrows but cannot shoot at the target, there is no difference from having no arrows. Such an army is of course vulnerable, and "five of its soldiers cannot match one soldier of the enemy." Here Ch'ao Ts'o, through an analysis of the relationships of geographical features, arms and weapons

with the performance of the army, criticized the idealist fallacy spread by the disciples of Confucius and Mencius that "the invincible are the benevolent," for he believed that no war could be fought without a certain material basis. At the same time, he also criticized the metaphysical "theory that weapons are the decisive factor," for he held that the usefulness of the weapons themselves was not absolute and could vary with different topographical conditions and particularly with the performance of the soldiers who use the weapons. On the basis of these three indispensable conditions for the success of war, Ch'ao Ts'o went on to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the two sides, the Han and the Hun. He advocated that we should make use of our advantages to attack the enemy where he is vulnerable, giving ourselves the initiative while placing the enemy in a passive position. It can be seen that these strategic and tactical ideas as enunciated by Ch'ao Ts'o were founded on the material basis of "knowing the enemy and ourselves," ideas that shone with the radiance of simple dialectics. They were correct principles for guiding the war against the Huns and winning the victory. This forms a striking contrast with the idealist, metaphysical operational principles of the disciples of Confucius and Mencius who said "I look upon not conquering and conquering in the same way" ("Kung-sun Ch'ou, Mencius") and advocated "fighting a battle in a dignified manner."

Fourth, it is necessary to step up preparations against war and not to under-estimate the enemy. Ch'ao Ts'o maintained that in the war against the Huns, it was necessary not only to establish confidence in the inevitability of victory but also to seriously get prepared and not to take the enemy lightly. He stressed the need for the army to undergo intensified training in peace time. He held that to win a war, the army must be well trained and act swiftly. If soldiers are sluggish, passively avoid fighting, and do not retreat or advance as ordered, that is because they have not trained properly in ordinary times. Such an army is vulnerable and "a hundred of its soldiers cannot match ten of the enemy." In addition, Ch'ao Ts'o proposed to Emperor Wen to "move part of the population to the frontier regions to strengthen border defenses." ("Ch'ao Ts'o, History of Han") He advocated that large numbers of people be recruited and sent to settle down in areas adjacent to the Huns. There, they should organize themselves and engage in production while undergoing military training in ordinary times, so that when war came "they would come to each other's aid and fight the barbarians to the death." Since no war could be fought without provisions for the soldiers and "a place cannot be defended even with a million troops if food runs out" ("Treatise on Agriculture, History of Han"), Ch'ao Ts'o made the proposal for "storing grain everywhere," encouraging people in the border regions and in the interior to exert greater efforts to produce food in order to achieve the purpose of making the country rich and its army powerful.

In actual battle against the enemy, Ch'ao Ts'o stressed the necessity of taking the enemy seriously tactically. He believed that since a war was a life-and-death battle between ourselves and the enemy, if we under-estimated the enemy and committed errors in command, we would

turn a big army into a small one and a strong army into a weak one. "When we reach that stage, it will be too late to feel sorry." Therefore, careful considerations must be given to "all aspects" of war. In the course of a war, even though we overwhelm the enemy by our numerical superiority, our soldiers must still be required to display the valor of "one taking on ten." Under no circumstances must we relax our fighting will because of our numerical superiority. This reflects Ch'ao Ts'o's serious attitude toward war.

(IV)

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Ch'ao Ts'o's "Memorial on the Military Situation" laid the theoretical foundation for the line of resistance adopted by the Western Han imperial court. The practice of the war against the Huns during the reigns of Emperors Wen, Ching and Wu further proved the correctness of Ch'ao Ts'o's military thinking.

The strategic measures proposed by Ch'ao Ts'o for the war against the Huns were partially implemented during the periods of Emperors Wen, Ching and Wu. Emperor Wen recruited soldiers to strengthen the border defenses, opened up farms, built forts and developed the cavalry. Emperor Ching vigorously encouraged the raising of horses and training of more fine horses for ready combat. Both of them launched counter-attacks against the harassments of the military regime of the Hun slave-owners. And although the threat of the Hun slave-owners' forces was not basically eliminated in these periods, a huge amount of groundwork was laid for a large-scale war against the Huns during the period of Emperor Wu.

With the assistance of the Legalists such as Sang Hung-yang, Emperor Wu of Han, Liu Che, continued to push the Legalist line of resistance and made serious and adequate preparations for the war against the Huns. Among the measures adopted were the following: Troops were stationed in the border areas where agricultural production was developed and defense construction was intensified; a cavalry was built and trained by minority nationals who were expert on riding and archery; "good generals" were selected and a former slave, Wei Ch'ing and a young lower-ranking military officer Huo Ch'u-ping were boldly promoted to be commanding officers; Chang Ch'ien was dispatched to the western frontiers to win over the support of the minority nationalities controlled by the Hun slave-owning nobles in order to insolate the latter, and so on. In respect to operational guidance in the war, Emperor Wu, taking account of the characteristics of the two armies, chose favorable terrain and routes of action and adopted the offensive strategy of concentrating troops to attack the enemy troops nearby first and the far-off enemy troops later and of smashing the enemy forces one by one. After more than ten years of continued war of resistance, the once arrogant aggressive forces of the Hun slave-owners were finally defeated and the northern and northwestern regions of the country were gradually stabilized. This created the conditions for enhancing

the development of the feudal economy and promoting the unity among the various nationalities as well as for consolidating and developing the unitary and multi-national state in China. All this resulted from Emperor Wu's adoption and development of Ch'ao Ts'o's strategy for resisting the Huns.

"Historical experience merits attention." In his "Memorial on the Military Situation," Ch'ao Ts'o argued that since the reactionaries would never change their nature, there was no alternative but for us to step up preparations against war and get ready to fight at all times. It was necessary for us to have a patriotic military line of resistance and the strategic and tactical thinking of "knowing the enemy and ourselves" and "using our advantages to attack the enemy's weaknesses." All these deserve to be noted and learned. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao, inheriting the mantle of the Confucians, pushed a traitorous and capitulationist line, advocating the theory that "it is useless to make preparations against war" and shamelessly attacked Chairman Mao's strategic policies. By so doing, he vainly attempted to let the wolves into the house and restore capitalism with the help of external reactionary forces. We must criticize this devastatingly. We must seriously implement Chairman Mao's great strategic policies--"dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." We must undergo serious training, make exacting demands on ourselves, and consciously complete all preparations against an aggressive war. If imperialism and social-imperialism dare to attack our great socialist country, we will destroy them lock, stock and barrel.

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Unification Is the Mainstream in the Development of Chinese History

by

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Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "National unification, unity of the people and unity of all nationalities in the country provide the fundamental guarantees for the sure triumph of our cause." Chairman Mao's teaching has succinctly brought out the vital significance of upholding national unification to China's socialist revolution and construction cause. Long ago China was a vast and unified country. For the sake of the unification of the fatherland our forbears for a long time had carried out brave struggles, leaving us a most treasured historical legacy. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China solemnly stipulates: "The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national state. The areas where regional national autonomy is exercised are all inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China." In the present broadening, deepening and development in a sustained manner of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, studying the development in history of unified states in conjunction with the summing up of the historical experience of the Confucian-Legalist struggle and of class struggle as a whole is of vital and practical significance to further criticism of Lin Piao's towering crimes in splitting the Party and the revolutionary ranks, strengthening the great revolutionary unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and winning new victories for socialist revolution and construction.

I

Since Ch'in Shih Huang unified China as far back as 2,000 years ago China "established an autocratic feudal state based on the centralization of state authority." In ancient world history and during the Middle Ages big empires in control of vast territories appeared. But they were merely "temporary and unconsolidated military and administrative coalitions." They collapsed in no time and became relics of history. The condition in China, however, was different. With the development of social productive forces and flourishing of commerce and transportation during the Warring States period, markets of varying dimensions gradually came into being across the land, just the opposite to what had occurred in Western Europe. In the transition of the slave system to the feudal system, these markets which controlled economic relations continued to expand instead of being disrupted. As the newly rising landlord class which had broken away from the patriarchal order based on the slave system increasingly flourished, they strongly desired a unified monarchy to protect their interests. Water conservancy projects vital to agriculture "urgently needed participation by a government of centralized power." A unified administration was also needed to effectively commit itself to

defense against the Huns. Referring to the unified monarchic power that came into being in the latter stage of the West European feudal society, Engels pointed out: "In the universal disorder monarchic power constituted an element of progress, a point which is clear to all. Monarchic power was symbolic of order in the midst of chaos, symbolizing the confrontations between emerging nations and satellites in a state of division and insurrection. All revolutionary factors that had taken shape beneath the veneer of feudalism were inclined toward monarchic power, just as monarchic power was inclined toward them." (On the Collapse of the Feudal System and Coming into Being of Nation-States) While the era cited by Engels differed somewhat from Ch'in and Han, his observation that under the circumstances in which the economic base of unification was complete unification had become the inevitable trend in social development was also applicable in the case of identifying Ch'in unification with the law of social development. After the Ch'in period unification not only continued to prevail but never ceased to develop and achieve consolidation. In the long span of more than 2,000 years about two-thirds of the time were marked by unification and only one-third by divisions, the later the period the shorter the time for disunity. The unified empires of the Yuan, Ming and Ch'ing lasted for more than 600 years, evidence of the continuity and basic stability of unification in Chinese history for more than 2,000 years. Unification is the mainstream in the development of history. It is natural that along with unification, "to a certain extent there were vestiges of feudal divisions and secession," resulting sometimes in open disunity. For instance, Wei, Tsin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, and the Five Dynasties at the end of the T'ang period witnessed divisive forces at work, though splttist clamors failed to alter the mainstream of unification. Moreover, this dissension was often followed by a progressively improved state of unification.

A unified state did produce salutary effects on the national economy, on culture and other aspects.

A unified state contributed favorably toward the development of social production, toward economic and cultural exchanges. The opening to traffic of trade routes, the extension of the Grand Canal north and south of the Yangtze River, the development of coastal shipping, construction of major irrigation projects, dissemination of production techniques and varied methods of planting crops, flourishing of commerce and the handicraft industry, as well as the development of science and technology, culture and the fine arts were all directly connected with national cohesion.

Unification is conducive to improving China's fraternal ties and unity with various nationality groups. China is a unitary multinational state. Unification in historical perspective means that under an administration of centralized power the frontier regions could be rapidly developed while the advanced production techniques and culture of the Hans disseminated, which would be helpful to the further development of minority communities. On the other hand, the fine skills and culture of the minority nationalities could likewise find their way to the interior

to enrich the cultural repository in the fatherland and promote economic development. Without the friendly contacts among the people of various nationalities made possible by a unified administration in the past centuries, it would be impossible to foster the kinship and inalienable solidarity among the people of all nationalities in China today.

Unification is even more helpful to the Chinese people's resistance to the common enemy and to insure the independence and territorial integrity of the fatherland. This has nowhere been more prominently exemplified than in the history of the past century. Before the ferocious forces of aggression of Western capitalism, China would have been reduced to a colony if she was not united and if the people of various nationalities across the land had not strongly united themselves and put up brave resistance. It is this unification and unity, deeply rooted in history, that has banded China's nationality groups closely together in combat to shatter wild imperialist attempts to carve up China.

The facts cited above illustrate that national cohesion provides a broad base for the development of Chinese history. Stalin once pointed out: "No country in the world could expect to maintain its own independence and truly develop its economy and culture if it cannot free itself from feudal dismemberment and the chaos caused by the feudatories. Only countries that are united for the sake of unification and centralization can hope to develop culture and economy and establish their own independence." (Message Commemorating the 800th Anniversary of Moscow As a City) Generally speaking, Chinese empires unified by the Legalist line, such as Ch'in, Western Han, Sui and T'ang, witnessed without exception periods of thriving development of population, land reclamation, production, economics, culture, science, ideology and other fields. Take Western Han as an example. According to statistics compiled in the second year A.D., there were altogether 12 million households or a population of more than 59 million in that state, with a cultivated acreage of more than 8,200,000 ch'ing* a record figure at that time. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, large-scale water conservancy projects were undertaken while the introduction of new plows helped boost farm yields. Significant progress was also achieved in public and private sectors of the handicraft industry, commerce and external trade. There were remarkable achievements in astronomy, compilation of annual calendars with astronomical and other data, literature and history. Han's influence was far-reaching and extended to West Asia and Europe. The T'ang empire covered a much wider area than that of Western Han, with economic and cultural development attaining unprecedented levels.

Just the opposite occurred among Chinese empires dominated by the Confucian line, where divisions and strife had resulted in neglected and abandoned farmland, in depopulation. A divided empire was powerless

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* A hundred mow, about 15.13 acres.

to prevent lootings by frontier tribesmen and this led to serious production disruptions. The untold privations and sufferings of the people under the harsh rule of the Northern Sung were recorded by Hsieh Ling-yung of the Southern Sung. In fact, the lot of the people under the rule of Eastern Tsin, Sung, Ch'i, Liang, and Ch'en, where strife and disorder was rife, was no better than that of the people in the north. Military divisions in the Five Dynasties near the end of the T'ang period resulted in the "diversion of exhausted private resources toward military channels" as recorded in the Old History of the Five Dynasties. In these circumstances the sufferings of the people and decline of production could be imagined.

Facts recorded in history provide convincing illustrations that unification brought about by the Legalist line contributed to progress and development, whereas disunity savored of ruins and regression. Therefore, unification which is in keeping with the general trend appeals to popular aspirations. The masses of the people want unification and oppose dissension, a matter that needs no elaboration. This unification is of course built on the foundation of class antagonism and therefore it is altogether wrong to comprehend the question of unification in the abstract and detached from the class viewpoint.

II

Since unification is in keeping with social development and identified with the progressive undertaking in accord with the interests of the people, it is inevitably subjected to the hostile and destructive forces of reaction and regression in society. To defend their own interests, these decadent and reactionary forces are bound to destroy unification in every possible way. Every step forward taken in the name of unification has to be contested with violence. Only with the people's brave struggles can we have the decisive force to achieve unification. And unification can only be successfully defended through the people's struggles.

Popular struggles in fact provided the real motive power that enabled Ch'in Shih Huang to achieve the first unified empire in Chinese history. The people then had had enough of disunity; they wanted progress and unification, fighting unremittingly to achieve this. Multitudes of laboring people flocked to the state of Ch'in from the neighboring kingdoms of Han, Chao and Wei. Representatives of the newly rising landlord class among the six states to the east likewise turned to Ch'in as "wandering politicians." This popular support for a unified empire in the state of Ch'in provided Ch'in Shih Huang with reliable guarantees for winning unifying wars. Lenin pointed out: "The real question that will arise when assessing an individual's social activities is: Under what conditions can the success of this action be assured? What things can guarantee this activity from becoming an isolated action and disappear in the sea of contrary actions?" (What Are "People's Friends" and How Do They Attack Social Democrats?) Departing from the people's strength and without the participation and backing of the masses of the people, national cohesion would be impossible. Only with the sustained efforts of tens of

millions of the people powerful enough to bring about great historical changes can an irresistible torrent be whipped up to assure the triumphant completion of the unification cause.

The institution of harsh measures such as compulsory labor on government service in the last year of the Ch'in period, particularly the Chao Kao usurpation and a subsequent plot to restore the slave system, led to peasant risings and struggles. The peasants' revolutionary wars first started by Ch'en Sheng and Wu Kuang dashed the fond dreams of the remnant restorationist forces of the slave owners. Soon Hsiang Yu unfurled the tattered banner of keeping feudal rights and holdings and blatantly assumed the titular head of the descendants of the aristocracy of six states. But he failed to obtain popular support and took his own life by the Wu River. It was the class struggle waged by the masses of the people that had repeatedly smashed the restorationist activities of the remnant forces of the slave system. Once their conspiracies in favor of regression and retaining the feudal rights and holdings were thwarted, the way was cleared for the establishment of the Western Han feudal empire based on the centralization of state authority.

The appearance of powerful clans and landlords as a result of the rapid development of the feudal economy during the period from the end of Western Han to Wei and Tsin formed the social base of disunity and strife at the time. These patriarchal families flaunting Confucianism and enslaving the peasants were the descendants of nobles that had entrenched themselves in their respective domains. In a certain sense, the social base of frontier principalities in the T'ang period was a continuation of the patriarchal order of powerful clans of landlords. Without uprooting the reactionary social base of this centrifugal force, it would be impossible to maintain a unified empire. This grave historical task can only be accomplished through peasant risings. However, the appearance of powerful patriarchal clans in the preceding stage of China's feudal society was inevitable as was their rise and decline. This means that despite their reaction and decadence it was not easy to uproot them at one stroke. This contradiction could only be resolved through one peasant war after another and through struggles carried out by peasants moving from one place to another. The peasant uprisings at the end of the Sui period struck telling blows at Shantung's patriarchal order. The massive exodus of peasants since the mid-T'ang period had radically altered the outdated forms of enslavement. The impact of major peasant uprisings at the end of the T'ang period was such that the deep-rooted influence of powerful patriarchal families in history began to subside, having been replaced by the landlord economy with the system of tenant farming as the principal form of exploitation. With the elimination of the major source contributing to the breeding of disunity and secessionist tendencies, the Sung rule based on the centralization of state power was further strengthened.

Paralleling the Sung Dynasty on Chinese territory were administrative units set up by Chitan, Nuchen and Hsihsia tribes. The task of bringing these parallel administrative structures to an end and unifying

all China was completed by the Mongols. But the sharp national contradictions and the vestiges of the slave system which continued to exist during the Yuan period could only be resolved through major peasant uprisings which took place at the end of the Yuan period. The massive peasant uprisings which erupted at the end of the Ming period toppled the decadent Ming empire, with the Manchus taking advantage of these uprisings to push the unification cause to a new high level.

The history of China's feudal society generally followed the pattern of unification and accelerated development in the wake of most peasant wars waged on a massive scale. This amply shows the significant role of peasant wars in promoting social development and fostering the cause of unification. Turmoil in history was occasioned under completely different circumstances. Disorder engendered by the decadent and reactionary factors within the feudal landlord class was not conducive to unification but was also reactionary and regressive. Although the outbreak of peasant wars sometimes resulted in "great disorder under heaven," the "disorder" swept away the obstacles to social development and altered the dark rule. In this sense the attendant disorder was revolutionary and progressive, since without such disorder there was no way to promote social development. In some cases peasant uprisings were not immediately accompanied by unification, such as the Yellow Turban and Huang Ch'ao risings, which requires some analysis on the basis of concrete conditions. Prior to the Yellow Turban uprising, the Eastern Han central administration was under the control of rival regional forces which fought for political advantages by means of utterly corrupt practices. The Yellow Turban uprising punctured this rotting sore and paved the way for the rulers of Wei, Shu and Wu, the three states that had emerged from the channeling of the popular forces of resistance, to pursue the Legalist line. As a result, the political structures of the three states showed some improvement compared with that of Western Han. This led to the founding of the Western Tsin unified empire. Viewed from this angle, the great role of the Yellow Turban uprising in promoting social development and fostering the cause of unification in no way should be erased. Fundamentally, the situation remained about much the same after the Huang Ch'ao uprising. Divisive forces which were at work at the end of the T'ang period in effect caused the T'ang empire to remain unified in name only. The Huang Ch'ao uprising toppled the T'ang Dynasty and uprooted the vestiges of the patriarchal structure. After the fall of the old empire and following suppression of peasant uprisings, the founding of a new unified empire had inevitably to go through a process of annexation and amalgamation, the rapid or slow pace of this process being determined by a host of factors. It was precisely the Huang Ch'ao uprising that provided this process with a starting point. This shows that any of the peasant wars which occurred in history on a rather massive scale had, almost without exception, promoted unification at different stages, some sooner and some later, setting a kind of pattern in accord with the laws of development.

The resistance put up by the people and their struggles in modern history constitute a decisive factor making it difficult for the imperialist aggressor to subjugate China. Before the intrusion

of Western capitalism and its aggressive forces, China was a unified state, this national cohesion undoubtedly contributing to popular resistance and struggles which had effectively prevented imperialism and stopped its attempts to subjugate and carve up China. Engels once said, "When a viable nation is subjected to oppression by a foreign aggressor, it must direct all its strength and efforts against the outside enemy." (Support Poland) From the anti-British struggles carried out by the people of Sanyuanli to the world-shaking T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolution and the I Ho Tuan's anti-imperialist combat, innumerable forerunners and martyrs fought bravely and wrote shining chapters of Chinese history with their blood and lives. This amply proves that once national unification and territorial integrity is divorced from the people's struggles, it could in no way be effectively defended. It has also revealed the great truth: "The Chinese people's unyielding and undaunted struggle over the past century has prevented imperialism from subjugating China now and forever." (The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party)

Apart from the peasants' resistance and their struggles acting as a powerful leverage, it should be pointed out here, the people's struggle for production, fundamentally speaking, guarantees the material base of society for the elimination of disruptions. Only by strengthening economic links throughout the country on the basis of developing production can a unified state take shape and become consolidated. Economic and cultural exchanges among the various nationalities likewise provide the key factor for strengthening national cohesion. On the other hand, the people play a decisive role in unifying wars. In any war, "whoever has access to greater reserves, resources that generate strength and support of the masses of the people will win the war." (Lenin: Summing Up the Moscow Week for Recruiting Party Members and Our Task) Without the support of the people, no progressive and unifying wars in history ended with success.

In fully affirming the decisive force of the masses of the people in the development and maintenance of a unified fatherland, we wish to point out the special merit rendered by the people of China's minority groups to this great cause. For hundreds of years the minority nationalities have commendably contributed to a unified fatherland by indefatigably opening up and defending the frontiers and actively fostering fraternal relations with the Hans.

III

We have said that the masses of the people constitute the decisive force for developing and safeguarding unification. We also recognize that the Legalists in history played a positive role in promoting unification.

The Legalist school of philosophers appeared at a turning point in history during the succeeding Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, when the slave system was collapsing and the feudal institution was emerging. The Legalists conformed to the political needs of the

newly rising landlord class because they produced a political program embodying a feudal political structure based on the centralization of state power in place of the patriarchal order inherent in a slave society. Strengthening the central administration was upheld by Legalists at a preceding stage of feudal society as well as by those who were in favor of revering Legalism and opposing Confucianism. Their ideas and actions were progressive because they conformed to the needs for social development.

The Confucianists who followed the teachings of their founder Confucius from the very outset upheld the decadent slave system and did their best to restore it. They moved against the historical tide and were downright reactionaries. After the feudal system was fully consolidated, they represented the most decadent and reactionary forces within the feudal landlord class. Pursuing the Confucian line, they opposed programs for a unified administration of centralized power. These people normally entrenched themselves in their respective domains, lording it over the people and riding roughshod over them. Once they encountered setbacks they would abjectly surrender to the rulers of frontier tribes, such as King Hsin of Han and Lu Wan in the early Western Han period, Lu Fang and P'eng Ch'ung of the early Eastern Han period, Liang Shih-tu and Kao Kai-tao of the early T'ang period. Among them Shih Ching-t'ang who prostrated himself before Chitan and called himself a "puppet emperor," was by far the most brazen. These people were preoccupied with acts of restoration, regression and national betrayal, with causing a split as their common practice of attaining their despicable objectives. Because of differing conditions, their individual approaches somewhat varied. The Confucianists likewise advocated what they called "great harmony," it should be pointed out, but they aimed at restoration and regression. To expand their influence, splittist and secessionist elements in history also dreamed about their own "unification," but because of the presence of splittist elements internal dissensions and strivings often preceded their expansionist attempts. The successive change of rule during the Five Dynasties in ancient times and the Northern Warlords' "unification" calls in modern times are examples.

The Confucian-Legalist struggle over unification and disunity centered in the political and ideological sphere around the protracted and persistent contention over the prefectural system and division of the empire into fiefs. Legalists like Han Fei, Li Ssu, Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o as well as Liu Tsung-yuan and Wang An-shih all upheld unification and opposed disunity, being steadfastly in favor of the prefectural system and against keeping feudal rights and holdings. On the other hand, people like Mencius, Wang Wan, Ts'ao Chiung and Lu Chi adhered to the Confucian approach and regarded the threadbare hereditary conferment of titles under the slave system as inviolable dogma. The core of the Confucian-Legalist contention over the question of the prefectural system and the division of the empire into fiefs may be boiled down to the following. First, the Legalists held as inevitable the replacement of feudal holdings by prefectures, while the Confucianists condemned this as having ruined the rules laid down by the "early sages" and

"abandoned teachings concerning the rites and music." Second, the Legalists viewed the prefectural system as the "beginning of opening the empire to the public," while the Confucianists held that only retaining the feudal rights and holdings would embody the principle of sharing weal and woe with all under heaven. Third, the Legalists attributed Ch'in's collapse to misrule rather than itsinstitutional defects, but the Confucianists believed the empire was ruined by the prefectural system. The Legalists' affirmation of the feudal empire based on the centralization of state authority indicated that they considered the Ch'in administration as having a broader base than the hereditary dictatorship of the slave owners. While the Legalists were at a loss to trace the causes of Ch'in's collapse from the angle of class struggle, they clearly stood for progress in keeping with the development of history. The Confucianists, however, clung to their outdated and absurd theoretical position and persisted in such perverted practice as upholding the five grades of feudatories that they betrayed their consistent opposition to reform and progress. To find a basis for their reactionary theoretical position, they went so far as to distort history as they pleased. For instance, they absurdly advanced the theory that the reason why the Western Han empire did not fall despite the dangerous situation which existed at the time was that the vassals were powerful and they helped keep the empire stable as a rock. In the same preposterous manner, they spoke of the Wang Mang usurpation not in terms of the facts of history but on the basis of the assumption that Liu Hsiu bore the same surname as the ruling family.

The Legalist teachings of Han Fei and Li Ssu formed the theoretical basis of Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line. By espousing the Legalist line, he became the first ruler in Chinese history to set up a unified state based on the system of centralized power, thereby contributing immensely to Chinese history. In succeeding generations the Ch'in institution was followed. This central administration based on the prefectural system first introduced during the Ch'in period laid the framework for the founding of feudal empires for more than 2,000 years. Han inherited the Ch'in system, indicating that the Ch'in institution conformed to the unalterable social trend for development. Although Liu Pang conferred exalted titles on those bearing the same surname as the ruling house, the danger of this practice to the cause of unification was pointed out by Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o and recognized by Emperor Ching and Emperor Wu, who had done something toward basically resolving this issue. In later generations feudal princes derived their means of subsistence from taxation. "By the early Eastern Han period feudal existed in name only." (Wen-hsien T'ung-kao 文獻通考) While retaining feudal rights and holdings was continued during the Western Tsin period when the Confucian line of restoration and regression had persisted, the practice was revived when the Mongol rulers had control of the Central Plains. However, these relapses were later put right. This explains why the central administration based on the historically recognized and affirmed prefectural system was in no way altered in succeeding generations.

The prefectural system was merely an integral part of the Legalist measures for political reform, its implementation in relation to an administration exercising centralized authority depending on the formulation of complementary political and economic policies. In the process of abolishing feudalism and introducing the prefectural system, Ch'in Shih Huang took steps to standardize the written language, weights and the gauge of carriage wheels, resettle the powerful families, confiscate weapons, destroy fortresses, build roads, burn books and bury Confucian scholars alive, and build the Great Wall. All these measures embodying Legalist political principles were carried out to hold together the great web of central government. This Legalist political line pursued by Ch'in Shih Huang was later followed by Legalist statesmen, who made some improvement on it on the basis of concrete conditions which had prevailed in succeeding generations. Generally speaking, the policies formulated by them followed this pattern. One, restraining the powerful. This is because the excessive economic expansion of the local powerful forces would inevitably lead to a centrifugal tendency politically to the detriment of the centralization of power. The Legalists therefore insisted on restraining the influence of the powerful clans. Government monopolies in the salt and iron industries, introduced during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, struck blows at the wealthy and powerful families in commerce and industry, as did the measures promulgated by Ts'ao Ts'ao, which clearly formed an important part of his unification program. By reclassifying the populace under the control of powerful families, Emperor Wen of Sui succeeded in strengthening the power of the central administration. Two, reinvesting the central government with the authority to appoint and dismiss officials. Ts'ao Ts'ao discontinued the practice of employing people on the recommendation of local officials under the manipulation of powerful families, a practice that had remained in force since the Eastern Han. The imperial examination system introduced in the Sui and T'ang periods changed the system of official gradations that had been implemented since Wei and Tsin, thereby placing the selection and promotion of officials under central control. Apart from broadening the political base of the central government, this practice tended to curb the influence of powerful families over locally appointed officials who remained loyal to their own superiors instead of pledging allegiance to the imperial court. Three, improving the bureaucratic institution and weakening the power of local officials. Measures adopted during the Northern Sung period, for example, deprived local officials of military and economic conditions that had abetted their arrogance and abuse of authority. Since policy is the external exemplification of the line, only policies that are guided by the Legalist line could be formulated and effectively carried out. This explains why in history whenever conditions permitted the exclusive implementation of the Legalist political line, there were signs of relative political stability and consolidation of unification, accompanied by a certain degree of economic and cultural development. But once the line pursued by the central government was altered, policies in no way could be implemented, generating disunity that could be harmful to unification.

With the decadence of the feudal system, the feudal relations of production increasingly became the fetters of the productive forces. Consequently, the feudal political structure based on the system of

centralization of power began to transform and took the form of autocratic monarchy. Its reactionary character became increasingly apparent. While some outstanding figures during this period could have adopted certain Legalist ideas and measures to contribute to the cause of unification, such as K'ang-hsi who availed himself of the favorable circumstances brought about by the peasant uprisings at the end of the Ming period to unify the empire and to effectively stem tsarist Russian incursions, their limitations had increasingly widened.

Looking back at the history of development of unified states in the past 2,000 years, we can draw numerous useful lessons from observations, such as those given below:

One, unification is an irresistible law, a general trend keeping pace with the times and appealing to popular aspirations. Despite moments of divisions and regression which occasionally assert themselves, these forces will inevitably be washed away by the torrent of unification. Today, our country is unified as never before. The people, the Party and Party members all turn their hearts to Chairman Mao, to the Communist Party. Any divisive action will be repudiated and opposed by the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. Persons like Lin Piao vainly tried to split the Party and the revolutionary ranks, engrossed themselves in restoration and national betrayal only to end up in being smashed to bits, in disgrace. This is the inevitable end of all counter-revolutionary elements engaged in restoration and regression. We must bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." We must uphold the Party's centralized leadership, conscientiously carry out the system of democratic centralism, achieve "unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action," and strive to build our country into a modern, socialist and powerful state.

Two, the struggle between unification and disunion essentially means class struggle. It is directly linked with the acute struggle in society between restoration and counter-restoration, between advance and regression, between patriotism and national betrayal. As long as there are classes and class struggle in society as well as imperialism and social-imperialism, inevitably there will be struggle between the opposites. Counter-revolutionary elements vainly trying to engage in restoration and regression invariably want to cause a split. They will invariably seek protection and assistance from imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Therefore, the struggle between the opposites, between restoration and counter-restoration, between advance and regression, between patriotism and national betrayal, between revolution and counter-revolution will exist for a long period of time during the entire historical phase of socialism. Similarly, the struggle between unification and disunity will not cease. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold and guard against Lin Piao-type careerists, never for a single moment dropping our guard. We must adhere to the Party's basic line, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, grasp the socialist revolution in the superstructure, deepen the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, and insure that our country will always advance in triumph along the direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

Three, unification achieved in history under the guidance of the Legalist line was essentially landlord class dictatorship. Today, the nature of our unification has undergone radical changes, being great unification without precedent achieved on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the guiding principle underlying all our work. With Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we shall be invincible wherever we are. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must strengthen the grand unity of the people of all nationalities in our country, and further develop the revolutionary united front with all patriotic democratic parties and groups, patriotic-minded personages, patriotic overseas Chinese, and compatriots in Hong Kong and Macau under working-class leadership and with the worker-peasant alliance as the base. We must unite more than 95 percent of the cadres and the rank and file and unite all forces that can be united. Let us strive to fulfill the various fighting tasks set forth at the 4th National People's Congress and struggle together for building the great socialist fatherland.

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Chiang Kai-shek -- A Big Confucianist Who Brings Disaster Upon the Country and the People

by

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(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1975)

Who is Chiang Kai-shek? The people had reached a verdict long ago: he is an evil tyrant, the arch enemy of the people, a "ruthless murderer who is stained all over with the blood of the people" but who on his lips preaches nothing else but "loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and love," as well as "propriety, righteousness, honesty and a sense of shame." He is of the same kind as Confucius, the master hypocrite, with every word a lie and every act a crime.

Putting the whole of Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary career in perspective, we have before us a foul record of Confucian worship, anti-Communism and treason. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius served not only as the stepping stone over which he rose to power, but have also been for decades the spiritual pillar on which his anti-Communist and treacherous policies have rested, and today have become all the more the straw at which he is gasping to clutch. The movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius launched by the Chinese people has rocked the central nerve system of all reactionaries, and it is not at all surprising that Chiang Kai-shek is lamenting in despair. He has once again reminded us by negative example of the fact that he and the old sage and Lin Piao are all jackals of the same lair.

(I)

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are the doctrines of restoration and counter-revolution, spiritual weapons for all those reactionaries that turn the tide of history back. It may be interesting to note that all reactionary rulers in Chinese history have without exception been respectful disciples of Confucius. Even those imperialist aggressors that have appeared throughout modern Chinese history have praised Confucius and Mencius. Chiang Kai-shek, the counter-revolutionary ringleader representing the feudal and comprador forces, is also an out-and-out disciple of Confucius and Mencius in his own right.

In his early years, besides being a genuine clown as a Confucian worshipper, Chiang Kai-shek was already a big gangster operating speculative rackets in between the foreign concessions in Shanghai. He was not satisfied with being an ardent Confucianist himself, he also obliged his son to be equally well-versed in such books as "Confucian Analects" and

"Mencius," saying, "Each chapter should be read three hundred times."* He also obliged his son to study the "Family Precepts of Tseng Wen-kung /Kuo-fan/"** and learn from the counter-revolutionary butcher Tseng Kuo-fan in dealing with the world. Thus, this Confucius-worshipping clown, harboring ulterior motives, wormed his way into the revolutionary camp by playing double-dealing tactics.

In 1924, Chiang Kai-shek took advantage of the confidence Sun Yat-sen placed in him and usurped the presidency of the Whampao Military Academy, a position which he exploited to build up his anti-Communist empire. "He regards the army as his life." He followed Confucius' example and advocated that "so long as there is propriety in the army, it can be trained to become invincible." Keeping to the reactionary military line of directing the army with propriety," he instructed that "Preface to Supplemental Quotations from Tseng (Kuo-fan) and Hu (Lin-i) on Military Affairs" be taken as a book that must be studied by all Whampao cadets. In his preface for the book, he lauded the blood-stained crimes the murderer Tseng Kuo-fan had committed against the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo peasant revolution as "upholding morality" and "reversing the tide of decline" and praised the counter-revolutionary "talent and foresight" of Hu Lin-i. He viewed these quotations from Tseng and Hu as "valuable teachings that have stood the test of history and powerful enough to guide the nation."*** His sinister purpose was to have the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius used as guiding principles of the Whampao Military Academy, so that he could personally build up a counter-revolutionary army under his indisputable command and use it to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat when the opportunity came.

Chairman Mao says: "In order to overthrow a political power, it is always first of all necessary to create the public opinion and to do work in the ideological field. This is true for the revolutionary classes as well as for the counter-revolutionary classes." For the purpose of realizing his objective of staging his coup, Chiang Kai-shek tightened his grip on the army while at the same time doing everything he could to manipulate public opinion.

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* Letter from Chiang Kai-shek to Chiang Ching-kuo dated October 13, 1922. See "Collected Works of President (Bandit) Chiang" published in 1960 by the Chiang gang. (Quotations from Chiang hereafter are all from this "Collection" unless otherwise indicated. Chiang's articles published after 1960 may be found in Taiwan newspapers and periodicals.)

** Letters from Chiang Kai-shek to Chiang Ching-kuo dated May 1 and June 13, 1924.

*** Chiang Kai-shek, "Preface to Supplemental Quotations from Tseng and Hu on Military Affairs," October 20, 1924.

The core of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three major policies was to form an alliance with the Communists and to set up a revolutionary united front based on Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. This was where Chiang Kai-shek played a double game by pretending to be a "Leftist" in order that his true colors might be kept concealed until the right time came for him to attack the Communists and proceed with his power takeover scheme.

Chiang Kai-shek, born of a gangster family and unlearned, took the doctrine of Tai Chi-t'ao* as the theoretical basis of his counter-revolutionary endeavors. He organized the so-called "Sun Wen Doctrine Society" based on the doctrine of Tai Chi-t'ao in such places as Shanghai and Canton, and in the Whampao Academy in particular. He gathered together a large number of reactionaries and formed a counter-revolutionary clique within the revolutionary camp. After fostering a counter-revolutionary contingent, he lost no time in following Confucius' dirty tricks in killing the reformer Shao Cheng Mao. He brought up false charges against the Communists and revolutionaries in the framed-up "Incident on the Warship Chungshan" and the "Party affairs adjustment case," thereby further usurping military and party power. As the revolution entered its crucial moment, he staged the counter-revolutionary coup of "April 12" with the help of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism. Large numbers of Communists, workers, peasants and other toilers were thrown into a bloodbath.

Later, whenever the Chiang counter-revolutionary dynasty "commemorated" the "birthday" of the old sage Confucius, "the execution of Shao Cheng Mao" was often cited as an event which "brought order to the country" and to justify Chiang Kai-shek's massacre policy. In his reactionary works (such as "China's Destiny"), Chiang Kai-shek also applauded Confucius for killing Shao Cheng Mao. It is obvious that when he set about slaughtering revolutionaries to reverse the wheel of history, he already had in his grasp the full essence of the Confucian creed.

(II)

Chairman Mao says: "All revolutionary struggles in the world aim at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggle conducted by counter-revolutionary forces against the revolutionary forces is also aimed at maintaining their rule."

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* Soon after Sun Yat-sen's death, Tai Chi-t'ao castrated the revolutionary content of the New Three People's Principles and replaced it with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, thus forming his own notorious doctrine, the doctrine of Tai Chi-t'ao.

After Chiang Kai-shek established his counter-revolutionary dynasty, he immediately went on a pilgrimage to Chufu in April 1928. During the trip, he promulgated two directives in succession to enforce protection of the Confucian shrines and the woodland in its vicinity. In the instructions, he referred to Confucius as "the master of benevolence and righteousness for all times," "the paragon of the principles of human relationship for ten thousand generations." He viciously declared that "the purpose of worshipping Confucius was the ultimate eradication of Communism," "the eradication of fallacies in order to keep people's minds clean."* In other words, he wanted to use the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to stem the spread of Marxism-Leninism in China.

After the 1911 Revolution, Yüan Shih-k'ai had officially promulgated decrees and regulations regarding the worship of and the offering of sacrifices to Confucius, so 1914 saw the first "rituals" of Confucian worship since the founding of the Republic. In 1934, the KMT Central Committee decided to reactivate nationwide activities to offer sacrifice to (commemorate) Confucius, so the "second grand ceremony since the founding of the Republic" was held. (Lu Hsün, "Not Knowing the Taste of Meat and Water")

Chufu was Confucius' home town. Lu Hsün said: "There, the descendants of the sage multiplied and formed a privileged class that even Sakya Muni and Socrates would envy." ("Confucius in Modern China") The heads of this privileged class were Confucius' direct descendants. Ever since the direct descendant of the 46th generation was bestowed the title of "Duke of the Holy Succession" in the Northern Sung, they had for successive generations been regarded as civilian officials of the highest rank. By the time Yüan Shih-k'ai took over and restored the monarchy, he conferred on the 76th "Duke of Holy Succession" the additional title of "Prince." With the uninterrupted support of the reactionaries over the ages, the House of Confucius in Chufu had become a huge million acre plantation owned by a landlord bureaucracy enjoying every political privilege.

Since the May 4th Movement, the popular tides against the Confucian shop lashed incessantly at this estate. The masses of workers and peasants demonstrated before the gates of the House of Confucius while students staged plays to "offend" the "sage". The Confucian court seemed to have come to its end. But the reactivating of worship of Confucius by the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty gave the holy descendants at Chufu good reason to rejoice. In November 1934, the KMT Central Committee formally adopted a resolution that gave the "Duke of Holy Succession" a new title with new privileges. On January 18, 1935, a decree was issued in the name of the bogus National Government that read:

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* "Official Files of the House of Confucius," Vol. 8151.

"The direct descendants of Confucius are to be made officials in charge of rituals to commemorate the sage and treated as especially appointed officials." The privileges they received were far greater than those enjoyed by the "Duke of Holy Succession" during Yüan Shih-k'ai's era.

Under the aegis of Chiang Kai-shek, the "Mansion of the Duke of Holy Succession" was brought back to life again. Large tracts of land were again tilled as sacrificial plots, with rents collected from the tillers by various orders. Here is what the 77th-generation "Duke of Holy Succession," K'ung Te-ch'eng, wrote in his diary on March 10, 1936. "I went to Yen (Chou) to meet Mr. Han Hsiang-fang.* ..... Because people of Shihshui Village refused to pay up their rent, I asked him for assistance. Thereupon, he summoned the county magistrate to Yen and ordered him to go back to Shihshui to collect the year's rents plus those of the previous year."** Relying on the support of the new KMT warlords, the "Duke's Mansion" was launching a counter-offensive in revenge on the poor and lower-middle peasants! After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek sent someone to have K'ung Te-ch'eng brought to his side, and ever since this "little holy man" had the honor of being with Chiang Kai-shek wherever the latter went, from Wuhan to Chungking, from Chungking to Nanking, and eventually to Taiwan to serve as Chiang's live amulet.

Lu Hsün penetratingly revealed the basic reasons why all reactionary rulers, including Chiang Kai-shek, were acutely keen on Confucian worship when he said: "Confucius had devised brilliant methods for ruling a nation, but these were in the interest of the power holders, not of the broad masses themselves." ("Confucius in Modern China")

The Chiang Kai-shek dynasty pursued a policy of anti-Communism at home and one of high treaon abroad. Both policies were derived from Confucius' "brilliant methods for ruling a nation." Chiang Kai-shek once warned his men: "We should study frequently 'the Four Books' and 'the Five Classics,' especially 'the Great Learning' and 'the Doctrine of the Mean.' All these should be read. If we do not, we cannot establish ourselves and the country and nation will surely perish."***

"Benevolence" is the core of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The old sage said: "By benevolence, we mean self-restraint and returning to propriety." Of all that Chiang Kai-shek had trumpeted about the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, especially at a time when

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* Also known as Han Fu-chu.

** "Official Files of the House of Confucius," Vol. 8277.

*** Chiang Kai-shek, "Moral Cultivation and the Way of Revolution," March 16, 1933.

the KMT was encircling and attacking the red base areas and suppressing the people's revolution in the white areas, "propriety" and "benevolence" were the two topics most frequently mentioned. He personally started a "New Life Movement,"* which stressed among other things returning to "propriety" and practice of "benevolence." He wrote "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" into the reactionary handbook of the KMT, "Essentials for Party and Government Personnel."** Many times he even went so far as to make "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" the "motto"+ for self-cultivation, and asked everyone to comply. Tai Chi-t'ao was right when he said that Chiang Kai-shek spent "all his life" in "practicing virtue, restraining himself and returning to propriety."++

Confucius lived more than 2,000 years ago, at a time when the slave system was collapsing and the feudal system was gaining ground. As it was a time when "the rites and music were ruined," Confucius set forth "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and called for judging one's "benevolence" or "non-benevolence" by one's action to maintain and restore the Chou order, an action regarded as the supreme test. Chiang Kai-shek lived 2,000 years afterward--at a time when the collapse of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system was imminent and China's new democratic revolution was expanding and deepening. It was likewise a time when "the rites and music were ruined." And Chiang Kai-shek, too, rose with his own version of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and called for judging one's "benevolence" or "non-benevolence" by one's action to defend the fascist rule of the big landlord and capitalist classes, an action regarded as the supreme test.

As to "benevolence," Confucius had many interpretations, and so did his worshippers through the ages. But so long as we use the

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* "The New Life Movement" put forward the "four ethical principles" (propriety, righteousness, honesty and a sense of shame) and "eight cardinal virtues" (loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faith, righteousness and harmony). The most important of all was "propriety."

** Chiang Kai-shek, "Essentials for Party and Government Personnel," (Part II), a talk delivered at a Party and government personnel training center in Hsingtzu county on September 8, 1933.

\+ Chiang Kai-shek, "Admonitions on Self-Cultivation Under the Wrath of Heaven." This included both his "Four Admonitions on Self-Encouragement" written in 1936 and his "Five Admonitions" written in the summer of 1945.

++ Tai Chi-t'ao, "Reply to P'an Kung-chan on Behavior and Conduct," New Asia Monthly, Vol. 9, No. 4, April 1935.

Marxist-Leninist approach of class analysis and keep in mind the laws of class struggle, it is not difficult to see the essence of the preachings about "benevolence" by various kinds of people in different periods and on different occasions.

Chiang Kai-shek's conception of "benevolence" and "non-benevolence" is based on observance or non-observance of his "propriety." Anyone who fails to adjust himself to suit his fascist system is considered being ignorant of "propriety" and would be "no better than a beast,"* that he is "non-benevolent" and "must be suppressed with propriety." Chiang Kai-shek regarded the taking up of arms by rebellious worker and peasant masses to carry out an agrarian revolution in the Red base areas as the gravest act of "non-benevolence." So he launched one military "encirclement and suppression" campaign after another against the base areas, massacred countless workers and peasants, and left the base areas "not a house unburned, not a tree unfelled, not a hen or dog spared, not a young man saved." This he regarded as the greatest act of "benevolence." He made it quite clear when he said: "To suppress the bandits (it should read: to encircle and attack the revolutionary base areas) is to practice benevolence."** Here, Chiang Kai-shek tells us in plain language that "benevolence" means killing!

Foreign and domestic policies go hand in hand with each other. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius give rise to the conclusion on the justification of treason. Chiang Kai-shek's "propriety" and "benevolence," when applied to foreign policy, mean "giving way politely" and practice of the "golden mean." Regarding relations with imperialist states, he places the emphasis on "cultural cooperation" and "economic aid" as well as a "combination of morality and friendship" politically, there should be "patience" if faced with aggression, etc. All these consisted in "giving way politely" and practice of the "golden mean," the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In modern China, the big landlord and capitalist classes are appendages of imperialism. "Without a backstage boss, they cannot do even a small thing." Their worship of Confucius is naturally bound up with national betrayal. Lu Hsün said: "My view is that, if China were ever to be conquered by foreign people....they would still urge you to read more of Chinese books and to venerate Confucius still more." ("Report on 'Strange News'.....") Here, Lu Hsün exposed the essential bond between Confucian worship and treason.

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* Chiang Kai-shek, "The Cardinal Principles of the New Life Movement," March 5, 1934.

** Chiang Kai-shek, "Essentials of Moral Education in the Army" (I), September 12, 1933.

"Imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture are devoted brothers, and they form a reactionary cultural alliance in opposition to China's new culture." Leighton Stuart highly extolled Confucius at an international meeting of missionaries in 1928: "The works of Confucius can guide its /Christian/ believers to supplement the old testament of Jesus" and "we must interpret Christianity with the terminology of Chinese culture."* Incidentally, Chiang Kai-shek is not only a devotee of Confucianism but a Christian as well. He "loves the enemy" in the spirit of "giving way politely," and when a foreigner slaps him on the left cheek, he would turn his right cheek too.

The purpose of the big landlord and capitalist classes in worshipping Confucius and selling out the country is to oppose Communism and the revolution. Before the "September 18" Incident, Chiang Kai-shek had already drawn up his policy of "internal pacification and external resistance" in accordance with Confucius' "Spring and Autumn Annals." He said: "Before the outside enemy can be repelled, we must first bring peace at home, much in the same way that the breeding of worms can be checked only if decay is prevented."** But "repelling the foreign enemy" was sham, while "pacifying the enemy at home" was real. Lu Hsün had warned that the execution of such a policy could only lead to "internal pacification without repelling foreign aggression," or as he put it, "it might even be a better idea to invite the aggressor to help pacify the enemy within." Actually, "by external it meant internal, because there was nothing to repel in the first place." ("Articles and Subjects") It therefore could be rightly said that Chiang Kai-shek's policy of "internal pacification and external resistance" was essentially one of anti-Communism and treason.

The outbreak of the "September 18" Incident saw massive offensives by the Japanese aggressors, but Chiang Kai-shek ordered the KMT troops to exercise "absolute non-resistance" and adopt the "attitude of tolerance." As to the just actions taken by the Chinese people to resist the Japanese advance, Chiang Kai-shek stubbornly stopped and ruthlessly suppressed them. In 1935, the Japanese Government, in a move to encroach upon China further, approached the KMT Government with the offer of such terms as "Sino-Japanese friendship," "economic assistance" and prohibiting the "anti-Japanese movement." Chiang Kai-shek responded with "honor" and "banned all anti-Japanese actions" to "show his faith and friendship." To that effect, the KMT Government issued a decree forcing the Chinese people to accept Japanese imperialism as "a friendly neighbor" and promising "severe penalty" for those who violated it.

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* Leighton Stuart, "Christianity and Confucian Thinking."

** Chiang Kai-shek, "A Call on Compatriots of the Whole Country To Unite To Quell Internal Insurrection and Resist External Aggression," July 23, 1931.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, even though he was forced to wage a war of resistance, Chiang Kai-shek continued to advocate the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius by adopting a line of passive resistance and active anti-Communism against the people. In 1939, he obliged the people to "show their utmost loyalty to the state and their great devotion to the nation" under the slogan "a general moral mobilization for the whole nation." Regarding himself as the representative of "the country" and the "nation," Chiang Kai-shek asked the people of the entire country to submit absolutely to his fascist rule. And such was the essence of "loyalty," "devotion" and "general mobilization." In 1943, in his book "China's Destiny," he applauded Confucianism as the best philosophy in the world. He wrote: "The inherent philosophy of life of the Chinese people as founded by Confucius, expounded by Mencius, and interpreted by the Han Confucians, has become a noble system in itself, surpassing all other schools of philosophy in the world." The reason why he went so far in his praise of the Confucian philosophy was that he wanted it to oppose Marxism-Leninism and to whip up an anti-Communist high tide and help consolidate the feudal, comprador fascist rule.

The Third Revolutionary Civil War was a period in which "the United States provided the money and guns, and Chiang Kai-shek supplied the men to fight a war for the United States and slaughter the Chinese people." At this time, aggression against China by US imperialism and anti-Communism and treason by Chiang Kai-shek reached new dimensions, and their activities to worship Confucius were also closely intertwined. In August 1947, namely, shortly after the KMT Government issued the so-called "mobilization order for quelling the rebellion," Chiang Kai-shek sent a representative to Chufu to "offer sacrifices to and inform the foremost sage Confucius"* in hopes of getting his help for the great cause of "quelling the rebellion." In the same month of the same year, the US "special envoy" Wedemeyer, speaking at a joint meeting of heads of commissions and ministries of the KMT Government, said: "I have studied carefully Confucius' philosophy. It is my profound belief that all these opinions (referring to his instructions made to the KMT Government at this meeting) are completely in accord with the essential principles of the moral behavior as enunciated by Confucius."** One worshipped Confucius and sold out the country and the other worshipped Confucius and invaded China. Both opposed the Chinese peoples' revolution by using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as the weapon.

The wheels of history could not be stopped, and all efforts to save the Chiang dynasty from its downfall with the help of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were futile. "Are the great mountains crumbling?

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* Chiang Kai-shek's Commemorative Message on Confucius, "Official Files of the House of Confucius," Vol. 8971.

** "Compilations of Reference Material on Sino-American Relations," Part I, 1957 edition by World Knowledge Publishing House, p. 769.

Are the tall pillars collapsing? Are men of wisdom going out of sight?" With these words, the old sage, Confucius, lamented his last hour. As the whole of the China mainland was liberated, Chiang Kai-shek fled in panic, with the same fate as that of the old sage in store for him.

(III)

After his retreat to Taiwan Province, Chiang Kai-shek combined his political line of "counter-attack to recover the country" with the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius by continuing to raise the tattered banner of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety" and playing the old tune of "reviving extinguished states and restoring families whose line of succession has been broken." He said: "Confucius' instruction on 'self-restraint and returning to propriety mean benevolence' aims at using 'propriety' in a broad sense to uphold the state laws and systems and in a narrow sense to guide every person to establish himself and to get along in the world." "If everybody observes propriety and abide by the laws," then "the success of attacking the Communists to save the nation will be assured."* He went on to say that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius were not only an invincible weapon with which to wage "ideological, cultural and political warfare"** against the Communists, but also "a firm psychological basis and spiritual force on which the anti-Communist struggle can be built up," not to mention the fact that "they can also serve as a means of suppressing universal Red plague and averting the world cultural crisis."+

Great indeed is the power of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius! The old sage might even be credited with the discovery of the atomic theory. Chiang Kai-shek's Minister of Education had this to say: "Chung Ho (harmony) is the theoretical aspect of Chung Yung (the golden mean)." "Confucius said: 'Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.' This is the most accurate description of the atomic structure. Chinese traditional philosophical thinking has finally been given ample confirmation through the discovery of the nucleus."++ This sounds as

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* Chiang Kai-shek's written "instructions" to the Annual Meeting of the Chiang gang's Institute of Confucian and Mencian Studies, April 22, 1973.

** Chiang Kai-shek's "Message of Greeting" to the Inaugural Meeting of the Chiang gang's Institute of Confucian and Mencian Studies, April 10, 1960.

\+ Chiang Kai-shek's written "instructions" read to the 3rd Plenary Session of the Chiang gang's Cultural Renaissance Movement Promotion Committee, July 28, 1970.

++ Speech by the bogus Minister of Education Chang Ch'i-yün, "Philosophy of Education in the Atomic Age," given to the Joint Annual Meeting of Six Educational Groups of the Chiang gang, December 24, 1956.

ridiculous as it is disgusting. How absurd this bunch of Confucius-worshipping clowns has become!

The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are the life-saving straw for Chiang Kai-shek. For a person about to drown, a clutch of straw is held as if it were a life-preserver. No wonder Chiang Kai-shek has gone to all that trouble of lauding Confucius and Mencius to the skies, but a stalk of straw is still only a stalk of straw. The doctrines of Confucius and Mencius can in no way change the laws that govern the extermination of reactionaries, much less save the life of Chiang Kai-shek, the Confucius-worshipping clown.

During the 22 years of his rule on the Chinese mainland, Chiang Kai-shek had used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to hoodwink and drive countless thousands of KMT soldiers to become his cannon fodder. Today he is still using the same doctrines to hoodwink and drive the people of Taiwan to give up their lives for him. He continues to stress that the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius are "the soul of the soldier" and their basic concept is made up of only two words, "love" and "death," or "if not victory, then die for complete virtue."* Love Chiang Kai-shek and die for him, this is what "love" and "death" really mean.

To soldiers of the KMT army, Chiang Kai-shek's interpretation of Confucius and Mencius means "love" and "death." But to the imperialists, he strikes up another tune and talks about "magnanimity," "courtesy" and "sincerity." On March 20, 1957, an American soldier Reynolds wilfully shot a Taiwan compatriot. On May 30, an American court found him not guilty. The people in Taipei angrily rose up to stage an anti-US struggle. They stormed the American Embassy and tore down the American flag. But Chiang Kai-shek smeared the just struggle of the masses with the doctrine of forbearance peddled by Confucius and Mencius. In his June 1 statement that year, he babbled: "Let's first forgive our friends; only thus can we Chinese learn the way of forbearance: 'do our best' and 'put ourselves in the position of others'." The Chiang gang's Minister of Education also sang the same tune about the traitorous doctrines of Confucius and Mencius in order to restrain the anti-US struggle of the masses. He demanded that "foreign nationals be cared for with courtesy, and that anything said should be honest and faithful, anything done should be respectful, so that 'all men will become brothers'." These traitors could not be more shameless.

In Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek, this traitor following the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, shouts himself hoarse attacking the great socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He hatefully

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* Chiang Kai-shek, "Soul of the Soldier," April 16, 1950.

describes the various political movements led by the Chinese Communist Party as movements to "despise humanitarianism," to "undermine moral ethics," to "destroy culture," to "negate history," etc. He is mortally afraid of the great victories won in China's socialist revolution and construction. He attacks the people's commune as "fundamentally disruptive of the traditional Chinese family system and inherent concepts of morality." He denounces the great proletarian cultural revolution as "destructive of traditional culture, the spirit and moral concepts of the Chinese people,"* and so on and so forth. What Chiang Kai-shek said about "ethics," "culture" and "morals" can be summed up in one sentence: the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Chiang Kai-shek hits the truth home. The Chinese people must "despise," "destroy," "undermine" and "negate" the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. And this is precisely where the Chinese people have made great achievements. The more energetically Chiang Kai-shek tries to attack the Chinese people's such great achievements, the more he is making himself a loyal disciple of Confucius and a diehard restorationist. No wonder he views the great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius as the "greatest misfortune," the "greatest suffering," "a disaster never before so great and so devastating."**

The trinity made up of Confucian worship, treason and restoration is an important characteristic of the reactionaries in modern China, who have all been Confucius worshippers. And Confucian worship is always related to restoration and treason. This is true with Tseng Kuo-fan, Yüan Shih-k'ai and Chiang Kai-shek, and it is also true with the renegade and traitor Lin Piao. Like Confucius himself, they have all been double-dealers and "master hypocrites." While killing people, they cried aloud: "Benevolence, righteousness and virtue." From the ugly performance of the big Confucianist Chiang Kai-shek, who ruins the country and the people, we see how reactionary has been the role played by Confucianism in the showdown between revolution and counter-revolution. This will help us deepen our understanding of the significance of the current movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to discern the true features of Lin Piao, the counter-revolutionary double-dealer.

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END

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* Chiang Kai-shek's instructions to the Annual Meeting of the bogus National Assembly, December 14, 1973.

** Chiang Kai-shek, "New Year Message," January 1, 1974.

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